

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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Published Quarterly for THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

By THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY, Baltimore, Maryland, U. S. A.

\$1.00 A COPY

\$4.00 A YEAR

MAY, 1935

VOLUME 13, NO. 4

SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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Published Quarterly

OCTOBER, DECEMBER, MARCH, MAY

For THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS

By THE WILLIAMS & WILKINS COMPANY

Communications for the Editors, and all manuscripts, should be addressed to THE EDITORS, SOCIAL FORCES, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C. Business communications should be addressed to The Williams & Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md.

SOCIAL FORCES

May, 1935

THE GENERAL DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATUS OF THE FERA RESEARCH PROGRAM*

HOWARD B. MYERS

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

WHEN the FERA was created in May, 1933, it was given a large grant of federal funds, a general public blessing and a free hand and instructed to deal as best it could with one of the most insistent and formidable problems of recent years. Despite numerous makeshift attempts to cope with the "temporary emergency" that had been steadily growing through four depression years, practically nothing was known of the problems to be faced by the new organization. Everyone realized that distress and destitution were widespread and that quick action and large expenditures were essential, but no one knew exactly how many persons were in need of relief, where they were concentrated, what types of persons they were, what (except in the most general way) had caused their distress, what their needs were, in what ways and through what organizations their needs could best be met, or what could be done toward restoring them to economic independence.

These and other questions had to be answered quickly. A nation-wide relief or-

ganization had to be built up; fundamental questions of policy requiring prompt decision were constantly arising, and the welfare of millions of people depended on the decisions made. FERA could afford neither delay nor gross mistakes. One of its first acts was the creation of a Division of Research and Statistics, instructed to collect and make available with all speed the information necessary to give the new organization an understanding of its problem and to assist in developing methods and procedures for dealing with the problem.

The first thing needed was to find out how many people were receiving public emergency relief, where the burden was concentrated, and how much was being expended. Strange as it may now seem, not even these basic figures were available; we had never known in this country how many people were dependent upon public relief. During the summer of 1933, the Division developed a comprehensive system of monthly reports which answered these and allied questions for each county throughout the United States. More than fifteen million people, an eighth of the entire population, were then dependent on public relief for support, and in the neighborhood of \$60,000,000 a month was being expended to meet their minimum needs.

*This paper was read before a joint session of the Section on Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association at the annual meeting in Chicago, December, 1934.

The administration needed to know much more than the mere number of persons receiving relief, and, as soon as the reporting system was in operation, a census was taken of the resident unemployment relief population of the United States. This census, taken as of October, 1933, supplemented the monthly reports by providing data on the race, age, and sex of relief persons, residence by urban and rural areas, and the size and composition of relief cases.

While the census was being taken, plans were laid for securing further information, and a section was established within the Division to develop and direct a research program. This section was assigned the tasks of providing further description and analysis of the relief population, surveying the circumstances of stranded populations, studying procedures and organizations used in the distribution of relief, and analyzing the methods and resources available for temporary assistance or permanent rehabilitation, the extent to which relief families and persons could be assisted to regain their independent status, and the types of aid required for this rehabilitation. Its primary duty was to supply information and guidance in the administration of relief; the importance of prompt and flexible response to the needs of an organization still in the experimental stage was emphasized, and the establishment of general scientific principles and relationships received only secondary attention.

The section's activities are divided into two broad phases: the research program of the section itself and the coordination of research projects of state and local groups. The research program is, in turn, split among three units, one engaged on urban problems, another on rural problems, and a third available for special investigations.

The largest and most important task thus far undertaken by the urban research unit is the Survey of the Occupational Characteristics of Families Receiving Relief in May, 1934. Information concerning the employability of relief recipients had been of fundamental importance to the administration from the beginning; comprehensive data on this question were needed to determine the relative emphasis to be laid on rehabilitation as against relief, to measure the extent to which work could replace direct relief, and to show what types of employment should be provided. The Occupational Characteristics Survey was designed to show the number of relief families which contained employable members, the number of persons in these families who could be classified as employable on the basis of age, willingness to work, previous work experience, and freedom from disabling occupational handicaps, and the work these employable persons are fitted to do. The study is providing equally important material on cases which do not contain employable persons and the types of assistance which should be provided for these cases. As a partial check on the findings of the employability study of relief persons, a similar study of the non-relief population has been made in Dayton, Ohio.

The urban unit is making a monthly analysis of relief turnover to identify the factors responsible for changes in the relief load with particular reference to the effects of fluctuations in industrial activity, and to characterize the mobile part of the relief population. Registrants at leading transient centers are also being studied each month to provide current information on the characteristics of the transient population, their reasons for migration, direction of travel, and occupational experience.

The question of what constitutes ade-

quate relief is of vital importance to FERA, both for the determination of policy and the granting of funds. A study of this question in urban areas, to go into the field in March, will center attention on two points: one, to discover whether cases receiving relief are being maintained at a proper living standard, and, two, to estimate the cost of bringing these families to a level of adequate living. The study involves the collection of prices in each area, an inventory of the possessions of the family, determination of the amount of cash and the value of commodities received from all sources, and an analysis of family expenditures for different types of consumption goods.

The rural research unit first undertook a survey of relief and non-relief households in commercial agriculture areas to afford a comparison between those two groups on the basis of such factors as size and composition of household, occupational history of head, farm tenure and mobility, economic status as reflected by ownership of land and livestock, indebtedness, and receipt of various types of governmental assistance. This was followed by a survey of six large rural areas in which the economic situation is especially bad and the proportion of families receiving relief unusually high. This "problem area" survey is determining the reasons for distress in relation to the economic background of the area, providing an inventory of the resources potentially available for rehabilitation, analyzing the relief population with particular reference to rehabilitation possibilities and the types of work which they are capable of doing, and studying local relief administrations and personnel.

To keep abreast of the rapid changes occurring in the rural relief field, a third survey is now being made to describe existing rehabilitation programs in major agricul-

tural areas, to classify the present rural relief population by residence and occupation of head, to determine local reactions to certain relief policies, and to provide a base for forecasting future relief needs.

The special investigation unit has made a considerable number of inquiries into problems of immediate administrative interest, and is developing forms and procedures for the use of state and local relief organizations. A statistical record card is being developed, designed to enable local relief offices to collect and maintain a body of accessible statistical information for administrative use. This card will provide much of the data now collected through the expensive and time-consuming method of schedule taking, and will permit quick and easy analysis of the relief population. An occupational classification card has recently been constructed for the use of local relief offices in placing clients on work projects, and a manual of procedure for social service exchanges is now being prepared.

The coördination of state and local statistical projects involves a review of all statistical and survey projects conducted on a work relief basis, materially increasing the effectiveness of the research work done and eliminating much duplication and waste effort. The coördinator is also developing standard procedures for studies in which there is widespread interest, to make for comparability among similar projects and to furnish local supervisors with tested methods and forms. These procedures have been or are now being constructed for housing surveys and campaigns, occupational surveys of relief families, census projects, population mobility studies, and a number of other types of projects.

The series of urban and rural studies conducted by the Research Section is present-

ing an increasingly detailed and accurate analysis of the relief problem for the guidance of the administration. It is impossible to present this analysis in the brief space available, but a few of the outstanding findings may be of interest. More than 18,000,000 persons were included in the 4,700,000 cases receiving public relief in the United States during October—roughly one-seventh of the entire population. The research studies demonstrate abundantly that in the great bulk of these cases the major problem is that of unemployment. Eighty per cent of the cases on relief contain at least one person between the ages of 16 and 65 who is eager and able to work. Practically all of these cases are clearly rehabilitatable; the main thing they need is a job. The unemployable cases consist mainly of women with dependent children, aged persons in families containing no person of working age, and cases which are unemployable because of physical or mental disabilities of various types. The large number of these cases receiving emergency relief indicates the need for a comprehensive system of mothers' pensions, old age pensions, and invalidity and accident insurance in this country, and the data available concerning them are helping to guide the development of such a system.

In the main, the work-seekers on relief are experienced and, prior to their recent unemployment, had held fairly steady jobs. Two-thirds of them had had at least five years' experience at their usual occupations, while nearly half of them have worked for five years or more with one employer. Not all of them can reasonably be expected to secure non-relief jobs even with a return to satisfactory employment conditions, however. Many are above the hiring limits set by private industries; one-fourth are 45 years of age or over. Others suffer from loss of skill

through disuse, and some will find it difficult or impossible to readjust themselves to regular work habits. Nearly three-fifths of those who were not working but were looking for work had not had a non-relief job of a month's duration in a year and a half, and one-fifth had not worked for three and a half years or longer.

The existence of large groups of employable workers on relief who are suffering from industrial old age or loss of skill indicates the importance of an intelligently planned program of retraining and rehabilitation, supplemented by a continuing program of public works. Data available from the research studies concerning the usual occupations and industries of the employable persons on relief provide a factual basis for the development of a sound work relief or public works program. Unskilled and semi-skilled occupations are heavily over-represented on relief; more than two-thirds of the employable persons on relief in urban areas fall into these groups. Less than a fifth are skilled workers, and only about a sixth follow "white collar" occupations. The building and domestic and personal service trades are especially heavily represented.

The findings of the rural surveys show the need for a rehabilitation program which is both comprehensive and carefully devised, and provide some of the basic facts around which such a program can be built. Generally speaking, high rural relief loads have arisen from more or less permanent factors, and large numbers of rural households will remain permanently on relief unless they can be removed from submarginal land or unless new industries can be developed to replace those which have been declining. These households will require careful supervision and retraining to fit them for independent maintenance. The data show that surprisingly

large numbers of rural relief households have had no previous farm experience; a fact which also indicates the need for diversity in the program.

This paper has attempted briefly to outline the development of the research work in FERA, to set forth the needs which called it into existence, and to indicate the major steps taken by the Research Section to meet these needs. This research development has not been without its difficulties. The research staff was faced at the outset by a practically untouched field, and was confronted by needs for information so numerous and pressing that it was difficult to know where to begin. The work was influenced in its infancy by the hectic regime of CWA with its insistent demands for the employment of white collar workers. The ever-changing needs and experimental nature of the relief administration made the development of even the general outlines of a research plan a difficult matter. During its first year, however, the FERA research program has contributed to the solution of a series of current administrative problems and has built up a considerable body of data upon which sound administrative policies can be based.

With some background of experience, with a better knowledge of its task, and with an increasing grasp of the problems which require study, the Research Section is enlarging its concept of its duties. The Section is working to anticipate future administrative needs, to provide a background of information which will

make it possible to supplant trial and error methods of administration with a constructive, planned attack upon the serious permanent problems of relief and insecurity which now obviously face both federal and state governments, and to provide analyses which will direct this attack.

The needs for research are almost unlimited. FERA has done a great deal during the last 18 months to bring order and organization to the chaotic relief field, but there does not yet exist anything approaching a unified, effective, economical system for the prevention or relief of destitution in this country, while economic security is as yet only a hope. The greatest diversity of opinion and practice exists regarding such fundamental problems as who should receive relief, what constitutes adequacy in relief-giving, what kinds of aid should be provided for various types of needy persons and families, what forms this aid should take, or what procedures, methods, and machinery should be used in providing assistance. The possibilities of retraining and rehabilitation are still virtually unexplored. These and other problems can be dealt with properly only on the basis of facts. The accumulation and interpretation of the necessary facts calls for a vast amount of exploratory research in virgin territory. FERA, through its research program, is attempting to make a beginning in the collection of these facts and their application to the permanent relief problems which now confront us.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF RESEARCH TO RURAL RELIEF PROBLEMS *

DWIGHT SANDERSON

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

THE Census of Unemployment Relief Cases made by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in October, 1933, revealed 1,154,960 rural families receiving relief, or 36 per cent of the total relief load. By July, 1934, this had grown to approximately 1,500,000 families, rural counties in the drought areas having the highest relief rate in the country.

Inasmuch as over most of the United States there had been no well developed rural social work prior to the advent of the emergency relief administrations, and consequently almost no trained workers, there were no means of obtaining information concerning the problems of rural relief as was possible in cities through established urban agencies. Furthermore, almost no data existed as to the extent or nature of rural relief in previous years, beyond the barest facts of number and cost of cases in the reports of state welfare departments. Obviously, for the intelligent administration of so large an undertaking, some basic facts with regard to the characteristics of the clients and their needs are highly desirable. This suggests an important difference in the type of research feasible under an emergency administration and in a permanent bureau of the government. Thus the research of the U. S. Children's Bureau is published primarily for the information and education of the public, but the research of an emergency administra-

tion is chiefly to inform its own administrators; it is like the intelligence service of an army.

Rapid but accurate research concerning so large a relief population over so wide an area met three major difficulties: (1) the inadequate records due to the untrained and inexperienced personnel in rural county offices; (2) the extensive area to be covered; and (3) the dispersion of the population, involving high transportation costs for enumerators.

The first rural study undertook to measure the differences between relief families and their non-relief neighbors as of October, 1933. A total of 17,700 usable schedules was obtained from 47 counties in 19 states. The schedule covered household composition, history of occupation, and data on the economic status of the household. Among the significant facts thus far revealed by the study is that only 37 per cent¹ of rural families receiving relief operated farms, the proportion varying from 10 per cent in the Corn Belt to 58 per cent in the Spring Wheat Area, the percentage being 16 points, or nearly one-third less than that of the general population as reported by the last census.

The proportion of farm owners receiving relief was smaller than that reported by the 1930 Census, but the proportion of croppers on relief in the South ranged from approximately one and one-half to three and one-half times as great as their proportion in the census, and the proportion of other tenants was also larger. Furthermore, it was the operators of the smaller

* This paper was read before a joint session of the Section on Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association at the annual meeting in Chicago, December, 1934.

¹ Preliminary figure.

farms who were on relief. In three of the most important agricultural areas, farmers on relief held properties only one-half as large as those of neighboring non-relief farmers. Rural relief households averaged about one person larger in size than neighboring non-relief households. The number of dependents per gainful worker was nearly twice as great in relief households as in non-relief households of corresponding size. Obviously most of the rural relief households were those which were previously marginal families.

The second study was of relief turnover for the six months of November 1, 1933 to April 30, 1934. It included all cases in 49 counties in 21 states and involved a total of approximately 99,000 schedules. The data were gathered by family interviews and included household composition, employment status, and record of last employment for all persons 16 years of age and over, and reasons for opening or closing cases.

Among the significant points on which the study throws light, the following may be mentioned.

1. The extent to which the rural relief families coming on and going off relief between November 1933 and April 1934 were similar to those enumerated in the October 1933 Relief Census, particularly in regard to the over-representation of larger families and of children under 16.
2. The relative influence of loss of CWA jobs, crop situations, etc., in bringing these families onto the relief rolls, and of such factors as CWA, private industry and administration rulings in taking them off the relief rolls.
3. The extent to which these rural counties attempted to differentiate between unemployment relief and other forms of relief, as shown by the proportions of families on "unemployment" relief which contained no gainful workers.
4. The extent of urban-rural differences as shown by the rate of opened and closed cases.

An analysis of the rural regions showing high relief rates with regard to climate, soil, and other factors, revealed several areas in which the need for relief, although precipitated by the depression, is not a temporary matter, but is based on factors that give it a semi-permanent or long-time character. Six such areas were studied: the Appalachian and Ozark Highlands, the Cotton Area of the Old South, the Western Cotton Area, the Lake States Cut-Over, the Short-Grass Winter Wheat, and the Short-Grass Spring Wheat Areas. The first three areas are the most important, as they included 40 per cent of the rural relief cases of the United States in October, 1933. The study of them was undertaken with special reference to rehabilitation. Data on the basic economic resources of the county, the reasons for receiving relief, the type of aid, if any, probably required in the future, and the qualification of the head of the household for rehabilitation in farming or in other employment, family composition, economic status, occupation, etc., were gathered. The study covered 65 counties in 23 states. The statistical data were gathered from the case records in the county relief offices and from the case workers, and a rather thorough quantitative and qualitative description of the agricultural and economic resources, the history and methods of relief administration, and the programs of rehabilitation being used or proposed was made.

The results of this study are now being tabulated. They are of especial usefulness to the administration in indicating the following sorts of data:

1. The extent to which the rural relief cases reside in the open country, as contrasted with villages and small towns.
2. The usual occupations of these persons, particularly the proportions of farm operators and farm laborers, the total proportion usually engaged in agriculture, etc.

3. The extent to which the heads of the relief households must be adjudged incapable of self-support, due largely to the proportion of aged persons among them, and the extent to which this varied between the Negro and the white groups.
4. The extent to which "broken families," chiefly women with young dependent children, are found.
5. The extent to which the recent urban-rural migrations have caused variations in relief rates.
6. The extent of insufficient schooling of the heads of relief households, and the possible implications of this factor for a rehabilitation program.

As a sequel of the first survey of rural relief and non-relief families, the same counties were studied in June, 1934, as of May, to determine the distribution of rural relief households by residence, the probable re-employment prospects and the probable trend of relief during the summer, the resources available for the rehabilitation of farm families, and the prospects for rehabilitating village families on the land.

Experience with this survey led to the conclusion that, if such a study could be conducted over a large enough sample of representative counties and the results could be quickly assembled and reported, it would be of considerable practical value and that a repetition of such a study in the same counties two or three times a year would give an intimate picture of the changes and trends in the rural relief situation not otherwise obtainable.

From experience with this and previous studies, it appears that the most important basic problem is to obtain a valid sample of the counties of the United States. The county was taken as the unit, for it was the only one for which uniform statistical data could be obtained either from the census or from relief statistics. The whole procedure has been described in a recent article²

² A. R. Mangus. Sampling in the field of rural relief. *Journal American Statistical Association*. December, 1934.

by the analyst who had charge of the sampling. It seemed evident that, if all counties in the whole country were taken as a universe, the heterogeneity of the aspects would be so great as to make a sampling process fruitless. The country was therefore divided into areas within which there was sufficient socio-economic homogeneity to use given factors as a basis for sampling: The East Cotton Belt, the West Cotton Belt, the Corn Belt, the Hay-Dairy Region of the Northeast, the Self-sufficing Farming Area of the Appalachian-Highlands, the Wheat Growing Region, the Lake States Cut-Over Region, the Range Region, and the Pacific Coast. The criteria used are the percentage of land in the major agricultural products, in some instances the proportion of farm products consumed on the farm (the self-sufficing farm area), or the percentage of land in farms (the range area). The Pacific Coast Area, however, is merely a geographic region. The regions defined include about 70 per cent of the counties and of the rural population of the United States, the chief omission being the Atlantic and Gulf Coast counties and Florida. In selecting the sample the procedure used was to select counties which were representative of the area for a combination of certain independent variables, such as per capita land value, residence (i.e., farm, rural, village, or city), tenancy, and the geographical distribution of the units. This was done on the assumption that if one set of facts is related to a second set, then a sample representative of the one set will at the same time be representative of the other.

For the purposes of the survey proposed it was decided that a $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent sample was the largest practicable for field administration within the time and resources available, but the sampling scheme used was such that it might readily be adjusted

to allow the selection of almost any size sample desired.

The representativeness of the sample was shown to be high not only with respect to the variables which were directly controlled in selecting the sample, but also with respect to several related variables, such as per cent of all rural negro families, per cent of all rural farm and non-farm families and per cent of all gainful workers in agriculture who are wage workers.

The crucial question was whether the sample selected upon the basis of these rural population factors would also be representative of the rural relief population, the basic assumption of the procedure. This could not be fully tested due to lack of information, but the October 1933 Relief Census gave the total rural relief load, and the total Negro rural relief load by counties, which made it possible to test the representativeness of the sample as to these factors. This was done and it was shown that the counties selected were as representative in these respects as for the independent variables previously mentioned.

It is appreciated that no one sample will

be valid for all purposes, but it is felt that an important beginning has been made in establishing a method whereby a sampling of statistical data for the counties of the United States, valid both from logical and statistical reasoning, and having applications in many fields of rural social research, can be had.

By this method about 140 counties were selected in 33 states and a survey has just been made as of October 1934, along the lines of the survey of last May. This seeks to determine the place of residence and usual occupation of the heads of rural relief households; to obtain a picture of the rôle of the Rural Rehabilitation Program; to obtain an estimate of the number of rural cases which will require relief in February next; and to discover any tendency for open-country relief families to move into villages and towns or vice versa.

Research cannot of itself determine policies, but it may obtain the facts which will reveal the need for certain policies or programs, and may measure their products through accurate description of the changes in the amount, kind, and reasons for relief in representative localities.

STATE AND LOCAL STATISTICAL STUDIES CONDUCTED AS WORK RELIEF PROJECTS*

FREDERICK F. STEPHAN

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

ARIZONA is completing an unemployment survey and school census, California is studying the costs of medical care, Washington has surveyed its state welfare system, Colorado is

studying unemployment insurance, North Dakota is analyzing local taxation and finance, Missouri is appraising its school facilities, Illinois is studying transients and population movements, Alabama is examining the occupational characteristics of its relief population, Pennsylvania is making a child welfare survey, Maryland has conducted a crime prevention study, Florida measured the attitudes of

* This paper was read before a joint session of the Section on Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association at the annual meeting in Chicago, December, 1934.

relief clients, and New Hampshire is surveying the cost of living. Hundreds of projects covering a wide range of subjects in the field of social statistics are being conducted throughout the United States as part of the work relief program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The state and local emergency relief agencies are responsible for the actual administration of both direct relief and work relief; the Federal Emergency Relief Administration supplies part of the funds, sets up standards and policies, and performs numerous advisory, planning, and coordinating functions. In the case of statistical and survey projects, each application is reviewed in its statistical aspects by the Coordinator of Statistical Projects who furnishes advice on technical problems, suggests improvements in procedure, and coordinates projects to prevent overlapping, duplication and conflict. The coordination function is a very significant activity but this paper will be limited to a discussion of the projects themselves.

The background for these projects may be traced to the first two or three years of the depression when private emergency associations and municipal relief organizations carried the load of unemployment relief. In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and many other cities, "made work" was provided as a form of relief preferable to a simple dole or direct relief. In connection with these work programs a number of statistical and research studies were undertaken. As the depression deepened, the States and later the Federal Government assumed part of the responsibility for aid to the unemployed and set up work relief programs.

The climax of this movement to date was the organization of the Civil Works Administration which provided work for 4,000,000 unemployed workers last winter. Many statistical projects were undertaken,

including population and unemployment censuses, price studies, housing inventories, health surveys, traffic studies, a national census of business, studies of tax delinquency, and relief surveys. More than \$10,000,000 was expended for special statistical studies conducted by the Federal departments and agencies alone. The CWA statistical studies were conducted very much as are most surveys not connected with relief and unemployment. With the exception of the haste with which they were organized, they had relatively few of the restrictions which have surrounded work relief projects.

Like all work relief projects, the statistical and survey projects have been organized principally to provide useful work for unemployed white-collared workers who are eligible for relief; their contribution to social statistics is a by-product, that is, it is secondary to the purpose of aiding needy unemployed workers. In this respect they differ from the research projects described by the foregoing speakers. The statistical projects are almost exclusively planned and initiated by state, county, or municipal governmental agencies, frequently in association with private organizations. General supervision, office space, materials and equipment are usually furnished by these project sponsors; the local relief administration furnishes the workers drawn from its relief families or from lists of clerical, professional, and other white-collared workers who are certified as eligible for relief but who have not applied for it. With few exceptions the workers are restricted to a number of hours per week which will earn the minimum budgetary requirements of their families. The projects are similar in organization to other work projects of a non-statistical character and while they are not "made work," their relief features introduce a number of limitations which could be avoided if their

principal purpose was to produce statistical information.

The restrictions to which work projects are subject are dictated by the fact that work relief is relief and not reemployment, a substitute for direct relief and not for unemployment, principally a means of preventing suffering and need and secondarily a means of producing a valuable product. For this reason one is justified in regarding the statistical results as a by-product and in counting them very largely as net gain since a very large portion of their total cost would have been spent in direct relief if they had not been undertaken.

It is interesting to note that many important statistics are by-products of non-statistical activities. Mortality statistics are a by-product of the regulation of burials; income statistics, of the income tax; and the population census, of representative government. It is conceivable that the development of these projects and the recognition of their potential values might lead to a series of continuing projects in social statistics maintained as part of a program of work relief or public works, unless all the competent clerical and professional workers are absorbed by regular employment.

TYPES OF STATISTICAL PROJECTS

The projects which have been reviewed by the Coördinator of Statistical Projects cover a wide field of social and economic statistics. A tabulation of the first 743 projects reviewed favorably revealed the following distribution:

<i>Type of project</i>	<i>Number of projects reviewed</i>
Comprehensive Planning and Social Surveys.....	56
Governmental Organization and Taxation.....	39
Education and Schools.....	63
Social Welfare and Relief.....	106

<i>Type of project</i>	<i>Number of projects reviewed</i>
Health and Sanitation.....	59
Population and Vital Statistics.....	63
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Within each of the above categories may be found wide variation in the scope, methods, and emphases of the projects included. "Social Welfare and Relief" includes a state-wide survey of welfare agencies and facilities in Colorado, a study of unmarried mothers in Minnesota, a compilation of the statistics of charity granted by the Church of Latter Day Saints in Utah, and an analysis of rural relief cases in certain Pennsylvania counties. "Population" includes a study of residential mobility in Indianapolis, a tabulation of births and deaths by census tracts in Louisville, preparation of an index of births, deaths and marriages in Newport, Rhode Island, and a census of the blind in Brooklyn. The other classes of projects reveal a corresponding variability.

A number of these projects are sufficiently interesting or unique from the standpoint of social statistics to merit description in detail but only a few can be selected in a paper of this length.

PHILADELPHIA HOUSING SURVEY

Philadelphia was not one of the 64 cities included in the Real Property Inventory Project taken under CWA by the U. S. Bureau of the Census and Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce but it conducted a housing survey which was similar to the Real Property Inventory being more

detailed on the general physical characteristics and less detailed on financial items. The survey was started as a CWA project with more than 2700 workers in the field and is now being completed as a work relief project employing 150 tabulators and clerical workers. It included data on 450,000 structures covering the type of buildings, age, condition, use, ownership, sanitary and heating facilities, occupancy of each household unit, value and rental, concessions and services, previous residence of occupants, and many other items of social and economic significance. Machine tabulation of the schedules makes feasible detailed cross tabulations including some counts by blocks and by census tracts. More intensive investigations of slum areas are closely correlated with the city wide survey.

TACOMA SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Social, medical, and economic data for 27,000 households were secured by an elaborate inquiry conducted by the Washington Emergency Relief Administration, the Tacoma (Washington) City Planning Commission, the Tacoma City Health Department, and the Foundation for Social Research in Medical Care. Information was secured for each member of each household covering the usual census items, religion, income, recreation, illnesses and medical care. Surprisingly little difficulty was reported, due to careful preparation, highly selected workers and other favorable factors. The data are to be analyzed over a period of two years. Private funds have been allocated for this purpose and for a share of all other costs.

Both the Tacoma and the Philadelphia projects illustrate the great detail with which social statistics have been collected in some of the more exceptional work projects. Many other projects have approached them in the range of items which

were secured and tabulated. Projects sponsored by State Planning Boards and State Welfare Surveys in several states have covered broad fields of social data but have relied principally on information already collected.

DAYTON OCCUPATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS SURVEY

An unemployment census project submitted by Dayton, Ohio, offered an opportunity to set up a coöperative relationship between it and the occupational characteristics survey mentioned by the preceding speakers. The schedule was adapted by suitable additions to meet the needs of a local census and a relief-nonrelief comparison. The latter phase of the survey provided data on nonrelief workers and their families comparable to the data secured for workers on relief. The editing and tabulating of the schedules was made uniform with that for the other cities in the Survey of the Occupational Characteristics of Persons Receiving Relief and thereby Dayton and the FERA secured important comparative statistics.

PORTLAND SCHOOL CENSUS AND UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY

Another instance of coöperation in an unemployment census is the Portland, Oregon, Project in which the regular school census was merged with a special unemployment survey needed by the Unemployment Insurance Commission. The funds usually expended for a school census were contributed to the larger survey and the regular school census data were taken from the schedules.

NEW HAMPSHIRE FAMILY EXPENDITURES STUDY

A further study of family expenditures of wage earners sponsored by the New Hampshire Minimum Wage Office and the

United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. The study is tied in with a larger study to provide revised weights for the BLS cost of living index. About 1250 detailed family expenditure schedules are being secured from various parts of the state. Exceptionally favorable conditions of planning and supervision make feasible an inquiry which lists almost 200 food items, 150 clothing items and correspondingly detailed information on other fields of family expenditure.

LOUISVILLE CENSUS TRACT TABULATION

The Louisville Department of Health secured five clerical workers to draw up census tract areas and to tabulate births, deaths, and reported communicable diseases by census tracts for use by the Department and by other social or health agencies in the city. Preparatory work over a period of three years was utilized in dividing the city into census tracts and the project was conducted within a continuing statistical agency.

MICHIGAN UNEMPLOYMENT SURVEY

Plans are now being perfected for a survey of unemployment in Michigan which is notable for the sampling methods which are proposed.

In parts of Detroit one tenth of all addresses are to be taken according to pre-designated house numbers. In difficult areas a complete enumeration will be made. Similar methods will be used in other cities and for the rural areas sample townships will be completely enumerated. Detailed estimates will be computed for the state, for cities, and for the rural part of the state.

This Michigan sampling procedure and schedules developed in Ohio, Arizona, and elsewhere are instances of experiment in statistical methods which reflect the op-

portunities opened by work relief projects for the development of social statistics.

The preceding thumb nail sketches merely suggest the character of a few of the more noteworthy projects. Without indicating the supporting evidence, I will list some of the difficulties encountered by statistical work projects:

1. No mobilization plans have been available to guide the rapid development of statistical projects. University professors and city department heads, who had had only meager experience in organizing and supervising large-scale surveys, were suddenly made field marshals in command of fifty or a hundred enumerators. In many instances hastily drawn definitions, instructions, and schedules proved to be ambiguous or inadequate, the time needed to complete projects was underestimated, the necessary supplies and facilities were not all anticipated, and perhaps most frequently there was no preparation for summarizing or tabulating the data after they were secured. These weaknesses were such as one might expect under the circumstances and there was usually an earnest effort to correct them once they were discovered.

2. A number of projects have had expert supervision but a larger number were directed by persons who had had little direct contact with the collection and analysis of social statistics. It would have been unreasonable to expect to find a large enough number of competent statisticians to meet the requirements of an emergency program. If statistical activities continue to expand, the next emergency period will probably find a more nearly adequate supply.

3. Another weakness has been the general shortage of more capable workers due to their greater reluctance to apply for relief and also the short hours they worked

to earn their budgetary allowance. In addition, there was almost constant uncertainty as to how long it would be before some man in a key position would leave for a regular job or the whole project be suspended or terminated by changes in the relief situation.

4. One of the principal weaknesses of the statistical projects (and one they share with many surveys undertaken by public and private agencies with no relation to relief) has been the difficulty of disseminating the findings and of putting them to use. Funds for publication have seldom been available. The staff of workers usually disbands as soon as the project is completed. There is often no continuing organization equipped to follow up the survey. In most cities there are great opportunities to preserve and assemble the results of several surveys and to exploit them both for further research and for the

public welfare. Municipal research and planning agencies and the universities are expressing interest in these possibilities.

Numerous and varied contributions are being made by work relief projects to social statistics. Great masses of data of varying quality are being assembled and made available for analysis and interpretation. People are becoming accustomed to social and economic surveying. Administrators and officials are seeing opportunities to use statistical information in planning and routine administrative practice. Experiments are being made in the procedure of securing and analyzing statistical data. Finally, these projects tend to maintain the morale and welfare of the group from which will be drawn many of the workers needed by any great future expansion of social statistics in other than emergency agencies.

FROM DESCRIPTION TO RESEARCH

CLARK TIBBITTS*

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

THE Federal Emergency Relief Administration came into existence nineteen months ago when nearly one-eighth of the United States population was at least partially dependent on public support. The new relief administration knew next to nothing about these people because relief had been administered by hundreds of small and uncoordinated public and private agencies, most of which were threatening to founder under

case loads of unprecedented size and consequently had little time for statistics or surveys. The only reporting unit that might have been expected to yield even a partial inventory of the problem was still debating definitions and seeking funds adequate to carry its program. The Federal administrators were, therefore, impatient for a research program that would introduce them to their problem, keep them informed, and perhaps even anticipate their needs.

Those who assumed control of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration were not inexperienced; most of them were professional social workers. No one,

* This paper was read before a joint session of the Section on Social Statistics of the American Sociological Society and the American Statistical Association at the annual meeting in Chicago, December, 1934.

however, possessed an adequate knowledge of the problems involved in dispensing relief to 15,000,000 people scattered among forty-eight states and in all types of rural and urban situations. The sex, age, occupational and industrial origins, work qualifications and numerous other important facts about these people were practically unknown. Similarly, very little data were at hand concerning such things as relief work opportunities and local wage rates, attitudes toward both relief giving and receiving, provisions of State welfare legislation, machinery for raising local funds, specific causes of the need for relief, and quirks of county and municipal machinery through which relief was to be handled. All these matters, of course, varied tremendously from state to state. Despite the emergency character of the relief administration, it was necessary that it be informed on these and many other points.

The research and statistical programs, which were initiated very early in the history of the organization, were, therefore, given the task of collecting a great variety of data on a moment's notice. Relief was to cost a hundred million dollars a month (enough to run a large university for 20 years) and had already begun. Furthermore people were hungry, and hunger could not wait for ponderous research to be done. Taking its lead from the urgent demand for information and from the temporary character of the relief administration, the Research Section outlined no rigid or complex program for itself. Instead, as has been indicated in the previous paper, it adopted projects of the census type designed merely to provide inventories of the characteristics of the relief population and purely descriptive surveys illuminating only the general nature of conditions in various parts of the country. Up to the present time the Section has

undertaken almost no research leading to the establishment of relationships between such things as the number, distribution and types of persons on relief and other social and economic phenomena. The latter type of studies are doubtless inconsistent with a relief program, the purpose of which is merely to alleviate distress during a period of emergency. There are indications, however, that the conception of the relief program is changing. The first bit of evidence is that the descriptive studies of the Research Section have revealed the existence of large blocks of the relief population which cannot be regarded as emergency problems. Indeed, it appears that many of these people will be with us permanently. One-fifth of the cases now on relief contain no employable person. About 12 per cent of the 3,000,000 urban cases have had no non-relief employment for 4 years. Many thousands of rural families have been "discovered" on land which will probably never support them at acceptable living standards, if indeed it ever did so. There are 700,000 persons now on the relief rolls who have reached the age of 65 years. The number of aged is expected to double in something like 30 years with consequently larger numbers becoming dependent. Similarly, as the months go on, it is apparent that not even all of the employables will leave the relief rolls at once, if indeed they leave them at all, for the skills of many are becoming outmoded and a quarter of them are 45 or more years of age and will be replaced by younger workers.

The second indication of the changing program is the virtual promise of the President to make additional provision for some of the dependent groups, and the proposals already made to that end notably by the Committee on Economic Security. A third sign of new attitudes is found in certain aspects of the relief pro-

gram which even now carry very definite implications of at least semi-permanent care of those now dependent on public support. Temporary as the FERA may be, it must be presumed that the establishment of 50 rural-industrial communities for the rehabilitation of the unemployed involves long-time planning. This and similar activities of other equally temporary organizations must be based on the assumption that many of the families now in distress do and will continue to require assistance if they are once more to become self-supporting. There appears to be little doubt but that the relief administration or something akin to it along with other departments of the government is going to expand its activities on something like a permanent basis. If this is so, its activities must spring more truly from intimate knowledge of the problems ahead. And it becomes obvious immediately that these advances contain several implications for the Research Section. What some of these implications are may be indicated in half a dozen brief paragraphs.

It would seem to be of primary importance that an intimacy far greater than in the past, if not a virtual identity, must be effected between the research and the administrative units. With the character of relief shifting from the mere succoring of temporary needs to permanent rehabilitation, administration must have advice at every point. A few of the problems and the type of information demanded in their solution illustrate the position of the administrator.

The elimination of dependency in many areas calls for the revival of economic bases or for moving families to new places. Either of these alternatives posits a familiarity with the nature and location of natural resources and with the probable demands for agricultural and industrial commodities which no administrator now

possesses. A properly conceived work program for the unemployed depends upon a knowledge of industrial trends and future employment needs. Projects should be developed which will retain the occupational skills of those who will use them again, and which will provide new skills for those who will never return to their former places. Programs for the care of the aged and of dependent mothers cannot be successfully outlined without research in population which will indicate the probable size of these groups in the future. The questions of State versus Federal administration cannot be settled until it is known which problems either in their origin or in their solution fail to recognize state boundaries and until the relative ability of the states and the Federal government to raise and control funds is determined.

This identifies only a few of the immediate questions, but they are problems which are pressing relief administrators harder than ever before. The size of the relief population is increasing and there are insistent demands for reducing it.

It appears, therefore, that the time has arrived for the research to assume a more active rôle in administration. With so many immediate and complex problems facing administrators, it is probably no longer sufficient that research people should be available merely to answer questions while plans are being outlined.

Interpretation of data collected with reference to situations already known may be pointed toward the development of administrative policies. And with material collected to answer questions, the research person may discover new problems, and in discovering them, probably suggest their solution. His presence will be welcomed. The unprecedented number of research people in administrative seats, the vast number of administrative

seats, the vast amount of administrative research outlined by Mr. Stephan and the pressure on the Research Section for results are adequate testimony of this.

This brings us to the second implication for research, which is that, having illuminated the general outlines of the relief problem, it must now be ready to pass beyond the stage of description alone. With a population as mobile as the relief group, it will be necessary to keep current inventories. But for the most part, future projects must concentrate on detailed analyses of segments of the relief population. Data already collected will have to be analyzed to show why people are on relief and what will take and keep them off. Unusual concentrations in certain areas demand intensive investigation. Community resources and their relation to population must be studied, along with probable future industrial activity and employment needs. Trends in population must be discovered and interpreted for administrative action. The rôle of the Negro in the economic life of the nation must be determined. These are all complex questions and an attack on any one of them is a large order for any research unit.

The third point is that the Research Section cannot expect nor can it be expected to collect and present adequate data on all of these and many other fields in a short time without a large amount of help. But the help already exists if its activities can be coördinated with those of other research units. Several agencies, perhaps chief among them, the National Resources Board, already know a great deal about the location and availability of various types of land and other resources. The NRA and the Department of Labor know something about such things as industrial trends, wages, living costs and the like. The bureau of the Census can predict the size and composition of the population, and the Public Health Service knows about

sickness. The department of Agriculture can tell how much food should be eaten and how much is available. Everyone knows, of course, that vast amounts of information are available. But administrators also know that these data are seldom coördinated in such fashion that they are usable when the specific occasion arises.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the function of the Research Section is to assemble and interpret these data to its administrators. It will continue to collect original data, but more of its effort must be spent in the direction of coördinating materials which are already available. In brief, it may be that the Research Section of the FERA will become one among several similar units assembling and analyzing material for various groups of administrators all engaged in one unified program of planning.

How to effect such an interrelation of units and research programs is not an altogether easy question. Efforts to coördinate the activities of government research units are now underway in the Central Statistical Board. But progress must necessarily be slow. In the meantime, while the FERA Research Section is waiting for this coördination which will provide more adequate direction to its program, it can set up its own advisory committees. In the field of planning these committees can draw their membership from numerous agencies, the type of which has already been mentioned. For research in the mechanics of administration of relief, which badly needs doing, advisory groups can be drawn from the scores of individuals about the country who possess immediate and first-hand knowledge of the problems in that field.

The task before the Research Section, not only of production but also of adaptation is a big one, but the Section is still new and therefore energetic and flexible.

THE AAA AND THE CROPPER

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THE application of the AAA program has been tremendously complicated in the case of the cotton cropper due to his peculiar social and economic status. Since the cropper comprises roughly one-third of all farm operators in the Old South, the necessity of his consideration under the crop adjustment provisions of the AAA is obvious. The cotton share cropper may be defined as "any person engaged in the production of cotton whose labor is paid for by (1) a share of the cotton produced by him, or (2) a share of the proceeds of the cotton produced by him, in either case whether such share is subject to deductions or not. A 'share cropper' usually furnishes only the labor incident to the production and harvesting of cotton and usually receives one-half of the crop or one-half of the proceeds of the crop."¹ The above statement that the cropper furnishes *only* the labor is literally true. He is regarded as a class of labor and not as a tenant farmer. The land, mule, plow, and other equipment are supplied by the landlord, who, in addition, usually maintains the cropper family during the growing season by the so-called "furnish." From the standpoint of the landlord the cropper is a distinct liability during this period. He may even become a considerable burden. If, for example, the head of the cropper household or members of his family are overtaken by sickness or if for other reasons of either inability or disinclination he does not carry through the farming arrangement as

planned, the responsibility falls largely upon the landlord.

When the crop is harvested it is, according to the above definition to be divided equally, the landlord getting half for the use of his land and equipment and the cropper getting half in return for his labor. Conventionally, however, the landlord handles the sale of the entire crop and returns to the cropper only what may be due him after deductions for advances in the form of "furnish," interest and any other indebtedness of the cropper to the landlord has been taken out. It is customary in some sections also for the share cropper to pay one-half of the fertilizer bill. After all deductions are made, the cropper is indeed fortunate if his half of the crop is sufficient to square his account with the landlord. In an Alabama study, covering 1,022 rural relief households in ten counties of the State, it was found that of the approximately 700 cropper families in the sample, the economic outcome was "broke even" for almost one-half of the total years of their lives spent at share cropping. Approximately 30 per cent of the total years were reported as having resulted in loss and only 25 per cent to have resulted in profit. It appears from this and supporting data that the average share cropper cannot reasonably expect more than a bare living and that his characteristic situation is that of indebtedness to his landlord. It should be pointed out that the data from which these conclusions are drawn cover a period of high cotton prices as well as the period of low prices which obtained before the advent of the cotton adjustment program. It is of course obvious that if the cropper

¹ Instructions and Regulations Pertaining to the Cotton Act of April 21, 1934, p. 6, U. S. D. A., Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Washington, D. C.

is unable to pay back his "furnish" from the proceeds of his farming operation the landlord suffers as well as the cropper.

The indebtedness of the cropper to the landlord is of two general varieties: (1) those debts which accumulate from year to year; and (2) those yearly debts which form the foundation of the furnishing system. Since the latter are incidental to the rental arrangement, they are sometimes not regarded as debts although doubtless the social results in terms of subordination and superordination are similar. Certainly an attitude of dependence is generated in the cropper by his yearly necessity of coming to the landlord for a sufficient amount of food and provisions to maintain him until the crop is made and sold. In the survey referred to above, 31 per cent of all tenants included in the study, of which two-thirds were croppers, reported indebtedness to their landlords of more than a year's standing. This percentage shows a yearly increase since 1929. The average debt in 1934 is \$103 as compared with \$175 in 1929. In a number of cases the tenant did not know the exact amount of his indebtedness. Frequently, this was due to no recent settlement having been made, but more often, since conventionally the landlord keeps the books, the tenant either because of inability or indifference, did not know the exact figures in them. The term "indifference," as used in this connection, means to signify something of the dependence of the cropper upon his landlord. His dependence is such that he does not even try to manage his own affairs. More than half of these tenants stated that their landlord has always "taken care" of them, meaning by this that they look to him when in need and for general supervision.

In order to check the information obtained from interviewing the tenants themselves, the landlords of these tenants

were questioned regarding the debts owed them by all of their tenants, both relief and non-relief. Reports on over 3,000 cases show that approximately 40 per cent of the tenants are indebted to their landlords with an average present (1934) debt of slightly over \$80.² It appears from this that the non-relief tenants are more frequently indebted to their landlords than those receiving relief.³

As a check on both of these sources, 160 landlords who have no tenants on relief were questioned relative to the indebtedness of their tenants to them. The results are similar to those stated above and show that 33 per cent of these tenants are indebted to their landlords with an average indebtedness of \$79. In view of these data, it would seem correct to infer that at least one-third of all Alabama tenants have debts to their landlords of more than one year's standing. These conclusions are based on a consideration of all tenants, the bulk of whom are croppers, but some of whom are renters. It is quite probable that croppers considered alone would show a higher percentage of indebtedness than the above data indicate.

In view of these economic relationships and the resulting social attitudes, there has developed a situation which makes it difficult, if not actually impossible for the government to deal directly with the cropper. On the sides of both landlord and

² The check between the replies of the landlords and those of the tenants is not absolute since the tenants who report their own cases are all receiving relief, whereas those reported by the landlords comprise the total number of tenants of the landlords of which only 43 per cent are receiving relief.

³ Such would normally be expected in view of the poorer credit of those who would be in a position to be eligible for relief. On the other hand, there is also, of course, the possibility, since the landlord usually keeps the books, that the landlords reported debts for their tenants which the tenants themselves had either forgotten or did not know were charged against them.

cropper the relation is paternalistic. The landlords do not wish this relation disturbed and the croppers have developed psychological attitudes which tend to make dependence a normal condition. Even though many of them are unable to do so, the vast majority of the landlords state that they feel it their duty to maintain their croppers in times of distress if they are able. Of 809 landowners interviewed on this point, 719, or 89 per cent, voiced this opinion. It appears, however, that this attitude arises from sentiment and tradition rather than from critical thought and planning on the basis of modern conditions. At any rate, the cropper is looked upon as a dependent person, the more extreme but not uncommon views regarding him as a class apart, incapable of ever achieving but a modicum of self-direction. Judged from his past achievements in climbing the so-called agricultural ladder, it would seem that superficially, at least, there is some justification for this view. In the Alabama study of those who started farming as share croppers, nearly three-fourths still remain such. Less than one-tenth have become owners.

There is a considerable feeling among landlords that anything which disturbs this dependent status of the cropper is undesirable. Forty per cent of the landlords in the above mentioned study stated, for example, that they were opposed to the granting of relief to these people because of its demoralizing effect upon them. Although no objective criteria were found to determine the strength of this objection to cropper relief, observation indicates that the conviction is rather firm in a considerable number of cases. This attitude results from two underlying factors. In the first place, there is the fear that the tenant will escape from under the influence of the landowner and learn that he is not entirely dependent on him. Secondly,

there is the fear that the relief granted will raise the standard of living of the recipient to such an extent that the landlord will be unable to bargain with him on the old basis. From the standpoint of the cropper system, governmental relief to the cropper is without doubt demoralizing. The cropper system can be maintained only through the subordination of the tenant group and the granting of government relief obviously diminishes this subordination. In addition, there is the objection that the average cropper will not use wisely whatever aid is extended to him. He is unaccustomed to handling money and is obviously quite inexperienced in its proper use, particularly since the system under which he has been working has not been such as to strengthen any managerial abilities that he may have.

The upshot of these objections is that this group is in opposition to governmental aid to the cropper because it upsets the status quo in landlord tenant relations. The opposition is not directed against the government aid as such, but rather at any system of aid which comes between the landlord and the cropper. The contention is that the government cannot possibly know the needs of the cropper as well as his own landlord knows them. From this viewpoint, therefore, the obvious solution is to let the landlord handle the situation himself provided that he is aided in so doing.

Briefly stated, this is the pattern of landlord-tenant relations which faces the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in applying the provisions of the crop reduction program. The economic aspects of the situation are decidedly complex but the human relations are even more so.

At the outset, the administration of the program is made difficult by the questionable legal status of the cropper. This results, in general, from his lack of social

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and economic status. The administration of the program is primarily local, resting upon the community and county committees chosen by the cotton producers. The farmers selected are usually operators of relatively large farms and are practically all landowners. In general, the County Agents were instructed to select men of character and ability in the community and in sympathy with the program. Under this set-up, the share cropper is recognized, in the main, only indirectly through the landowner. Although doubtless a logical procedure from the organizational standpoint, it should be pointed out that under this arrangement the position of the landowner is considerably strengthened whereas that of the cropper remains largely as before.

The responsibility of local control is emphasized by the AAA. In the Commodity Information Series the question is raised, "Where does the responsibility for administration of the cotton program primarily rest? Answer. The administration is primarily local, resting upon the community and county committees chosen by the cotton producers."⁴ Few, if any, croppers ever become members of these committees. It seems rather obvious, therefore, that the status of the cropper under the program is largely that which the landlord wishes him to have. The cropper's share in the program depends in the final analysis upon his relation to the landlord. This may be accounted desirable or undesirable, but the incidence of the control is clear and is so recognized by those administering the program.

The above statements are not meant to convey the impression that no legal rights are granted the cropper under the act. It merely means to emphasize that the personal relations between landlord and crop-

per supersede any legal machinery that the adjustment administration has yet developed.

Obviously, such an arrangement is open to abuses. Under the 1933 contract, a considerable number of tenants did not receive the full amount specified by the contract. In numbers of cases the landlords did not obtain the consent of the tenants before signing the contract. No mention was made of having tenants who had an interest in the crop. The landlord, under these circumstances, was able to make whatever settlements that he wished with the tenants. The contract itself did not recognize the existence of separate landlord and tenant interests other than the general reference to "lien holders" and to "all persons who appear to have an interest in the crop." In a number of instances, share croppers were not credited with any part of the so-called option payment of the 1933 contract. In addition, much dissatisfaction has arisen among the tenants because the landowner frequently made deduction of a part or all of the benefit payments due the tenant to apply on past indebtedness of the tenant to the landlord. As has been shown above, a considerable number of the tenants are indebted to their landlords. Calvin B. Hoover, in summing up this situation in a study made under the auspices of the AAA makes the following statement:⁵

Often these sums were legally due to the landlord. In other cases, however, the interest rate which was charged was usurious and at a rate higher than that allowed by the laws of the State in which the parties to the contract lived. Whether the tenant received anything at all often depended upon the charitable-ness of the landlord. In numberless instances, if the landlord had deducted the entire sum which he had a legal right to do, there would have been no net amount received by the tenants at all. What apparently happened was that the deductions amounted

⁴ Commodity Information Series, Cotton Leaflet No. 1, U. S. D. A., AAA, Washington, D. C.

⁵ Calvin B. Hoover, Human Problems of Acreage Reduction in the South, AAA, Washington, D. C.

sometimes to less than the legal amount due, sometimes to the amount legally due and sometimes to more than the amount legally due, depending upon the charitableness or unscrupulousness of the landlord.

Under the terms of the 1933 contract it was meant that the share cropper and the landlord should share equally in the compensation for the land taken out of production. The cropper does not fare so well, however, under the 1934 contract regulations. Under the 1934 revisions the share cropper receives one-half of the parity payments, which actually amounts usually to a very small sum. Without going into the detail of the method by which the "parity" payment is computed it may be stated that, in general, it amounts under the present situation to one cent per pound on the base yield of the acreage taken out of production. For the share cropper on a typical cotton farm of 12 acres, assuming 40 per cent of his acreage taken out of production and a base lint yield of 175 pounds per acre, the sum would amount to approximately \$4.20.

The 1933 contract was more liberal to the cropper since it was assumed that he should be reimbursed for his effort in the "plow-up" campaign which was incident to the lateness with which the program got under way. Since no "plow-up" was necessary in 1934, the land having been taken out of production before it was planted, no such reimbursement was necessary. In view of the fact, however, that the cropper in most instances already had the labor available and in most instances is not out anything by its utilization, it might seem that he should be granted similar recognition under the 1934 contract as under that of 1933. The fundamental problem at this point is that of determining the exact legal status of the share cropper. This has given rise to a confusion in classification with the so-called "managing share tenant" who is assumed

to be a step higher on the agricultural ladder than the cropper. Since the governmental allotments are considerably more favorable⁶ to this type of tenant than to the cropper it has been found that a number of tenants formerly regarded as managing share tenants are now classed as ordinary share croppers under the adjustment program.

Closely related to the cropper and the managing share tenant is the "standing renter" who rents land as a tenant and pays as rent a fixed quantity of products. A common variety of this tenure status is the so-called "bale-per-plow" renter. A persistent complaint arises here from the fact that in many cases, although the acreage has been reduced under the adjustment contract, the rental remains the same. On an average farm with 12 acres of cotton the cash income of the tenant is raised approximately 45 per cent under the reduction program whereas the income of the landlord is raised 100 per cent.⁷ Con-

⁶ The managing share tenant receives three-fourths of the parity payments and one half of the rental payment. Taken together, these payments amount to 2¢ per pound for the landlord and 2½¢ per pound to the tenant for the base production of the land taken out of cultivation. The confusion between share cropper and managing share tenant has given rise to considerable difficulty under the program since the tenant prefers to be classed as a managing share tenant whereas it is to the financial advantage of the landlord to have his status that of a share cropper.

⁷ The illustration of a typical 12 acre, one mule farm on the basis of the following assumptions will explain the situation: 175 pounds of lint per acre as the base production; 6 cents per pound for lint and \$10 per ton for seed before the advent of the adjustment program; 12 cents per pound for lint and \$35 per ton for seed under the adjustment program; forty per cent is taken out of cultivation, the government rent being computed at 4½ cents per pound on the base production, all allotments going to the renter. The bale of cotton which the landlord gets refers to lint only, the renter keeping the seed. Using approximate figures, under the above terms, the landlord got \$30 and the renter \$115 before the advent of the reduction program. Under the reduction program, the landlord gets \$60 and the tenant \$167.

sidering the rise in price in the last two years of the articles of diet used by the bale-per-plow renter, there is considerable question as to whether the tenant is materially better off under the terms of the present arrangement than he was before its inauguration. It is to be hoped, of course, that the inequalities arising out of this "bale-per-plow" arrangement will be rectified before the planting of another crop.

In addition to questions of a more or less legal nature there are certain other subtle problems arising out of the peculiar relation of the cotton cropper to his landlord. One of the ostensible purposes of the AAA is to benefit as consumers the recipients of the benefit payments. The evidence from the Alabama study of 1,022 rural relief cases and their landlords mentioned above suggests that, although benefit payments are received by a considerable number of croppers, in a great many instances the money merely passes through their hands. Approximately 28 per cent of the total cases studied received the cotton benefit payments in 1933.⁸ In the case of the croppers and renters, however, approximately 40 per cent of them stated that a part of the money received by them was paid immediately to their landowners. In more than a third of these cases, they claimed that the landlord forced payment. Twenty-two per cent of the white tenants claimed that the landlord forced payment as compared with 58 per cent of the colored.

On the whole, it appears that these households have had a very limited chance to profit as consumers by the governmental program. One of the ten counties studied in Alabama will serve as an example. Forty-four households in the sample taken

received governmental aid. Three-fourths of these used all of it to pay debts. Two-thirds (30 households) paid some or all of it to the landowner. The landowner forced payment in 60 per cent of the cases (18 households). The average amount given to the landowner, in both forced and non-forced payment was \$48. The average amount received by the farmers of this county for cotton reduction, the chief source of aid, was \$57. It is therefore clear that, although 43 per cent of the households in the sample for this county received aid (which is considerably above the average for the ten counties), the money in most instances only passed through their hands into those of the landowners. Less than 16 per cent of the households stated that all of the money received from the government was spent by their families.

Another persistent problem growing largely out of the landlord tenant system is that of reducing cotton production and at the same time maintaining agricultural employment. The high tenancy rate in the cotton producing area and the peculiar status of the tenant, particularly the cropper, intensifies this difficulty and renders relatively impossible the avoidance of displacement from the land of a considerable number of tenants.

Obviously, the most economical method of reducing the acreage of cotton on a great many of the farms and plantations would be to reduce the number of tenants. The dire social consequences of any such dislocation of farm people has been fully recognized by the AAA. Yet it has seemed impracticable to compel each landlord to keep his usual number of tenants. In the case of the share cropper, the provisions of the contract put this matter into the hands of the landlord and he handles it as he sees fit.⁹

⁸ Since only slightly over one-half of these cases are croppers, the remainder being divided approximately equally between owner-operators and renters, it is probable that the number of croppers receiving such aid was considerably less than 28 per cent.

⁹ The contract specifies that the landlord shall: "Endeavor in good faith to bring about the reduction

Various reasons are advanced in support of the inadvisability of compelling the landlord to keep his accustomed number of tenants. In general, it appears that such a regulation would not meet with the approval of the majority of landlords and would result in a loss of support to the entire program. It was hoped that by making the rental payments largely to the landlords, a situation might be created in which the landlord would feel morally obligated to keep his usual number of tenants, particularly in view of the existing paternalistic relation between landlord and tenant. It was also hoped that public opinion would lend greater support to this feeling than if the contract were made more favorable to the tenant.¹⁰ Generally speaking, however, the evidence indicates that the provisions in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration for the prevention of displacement have been inadequate. Such has occurred in a variety of ways, but more often than not, it has in-

of acreage contemplated in this contract in such a manner as to cause the least possible amount of labor, economic and social disturbance, and to this end, in so far as possible, he shall effect the acreage reduction as nearly ratably as practicable among tenants on this farm; shall, in so far as possible, maintain on this farm the normal number of tenants and other employees; shall permit all tenants to continue in the occupancy of their houses on this farm, rent free, for the years 1934 and 1935, respectively (unless such tenant shall so conduct himself as to become a nuisance or a menace to the welfare of the producer); during such years shall afford such tenants or employees, without cost, access for fuel to such woods land belonging to this farm as he may designate; shall permit such tenants the use of an adequate portion of the rented acres to grow food and feed crops for home consumption and for pasturage for domestically used livestock; and for such use of the rented acres shall permit the reasonable use of work animals and equipment in exchange for labor."

¹⁰ H. I. Richards, *Cotton Under the Agricultural Adjustment Act*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.

volved the least productive tenants and more particularly, the share croppers.

In the study referred to above, 708 landlords were questioned by personal interview as to the chief reason their tenants, or those who had been their tenants during the past year, were receiving relief. Of this number, approximately 26 per cent stated that the tenants were no longer needed. Eighteen per cent stated that the specific reason was uncertainty of crop acreage due to government requirements. It is obvious that in the opinion of these landlords a considerable amount of tenant displacement is chargeable directly to acreage reduction. In certain of the heavy cotton counties included in the sample, the percentages were considerably higher.

An important contributing factor to the dislocation of croppers is their extreme mobility. The picture presented of cropper mobility is that of a highly localized group, some members of which move short distances very frequently and some of which live an entire lifetime on the same farm. It appears from the evidence available that the latter group is preponderantly Negro. The average years of tenure for the 3,020 tenants responsible to the landlords interviewed in the Alabama study was approximately six. This average, as above indicated, represents a combination of extremely high mobility and essentially no mobility at all. Although no conclusive data are available on the point, it would seem fair to assume that a considerable percentage of those croppers who move from farm to farm every year or so are of the more undesirable type. In many instances, these croppers left their farms voluntarily as they normally do at the end of the season but were unable to locate farms elsewhere. In such cases, the landlord would hardly be inclined to take them back, particularly if they were his less desirable tenants. Evidence presented

above relative to reasons given by landlords as to why their tenants were receiving relief indicates on the other hand, that some landlords in anticipation of acreage reduction, cut down the number of their tenants before actually signing the contract.

Lastly, an extremely important factor in causing cropper displacement is that of the inability of the landlord to make the "furnish" for his cropper, thus leaving him without means of production or livelihood. Since the conventional landlord attitude is that of taking care of his tenants, it is clear that his failure to do so must be traced in a great many cases, to financial inability. Approximately one-half of the Alabama landlords referred to above gave as the chief reason for their tenants receiving relief their inability to take care of them. This, of course, amounts to displacement from the land since the "furnish" and the land go together in the case of the cropper.

In conclusion, it appears that the Cotton South has been and is being victimized by its landlord tenant system. The AAA does not purport to remedy these ills. So far, it has been largely an emergency measure and, as such, is performing a valuable function. The agricultural press of the Cotton South probably gives the AAA greater support than the press in any other section of the country. But it is by no means a finished organization and is not so regarded by those administering it. Although the AAA should not be held responsible for the ills of the present system, neither should it be placed in the position of strengthening and maintaining these ills. The whole action of the AAA to the present time appears to have the effect of not only maintaining the status quo in landlord tenant relations, but of actually strengthening the foundations upon which they are built. If this support were withheld the whole landlord tenant system

bids fair to die out in the not distant future from the results of its own inefficiency, if not from the results of other governmental administrations.

The present system works to the disadvantage of both landlord and tenant. The landlord is being victimized by the necessity of his dependence under this system upon an unstable, irresponsible, inefficient type of farmer. If the landlord, as an individual, endeavors to raise the level of living of his tenants he is likely to suffer bankruptcy in the attempt. The entire system is based on a low standard for the tenant. The shiftlessness of the majority of these people is the result of an accumulated social heritage of several generations over which the individual landlord has little or no control. The cropper comes to him as an adult individual with all of the accumulated inefficiency and shiftlessness of a lifetime at cropping. Although his income is insufficient for him to maintain a decent standard of living, he is probably getting, considering his inefficiency, all that he is worth to the landlord. That is one aspect of the landlord's difficulty. Another serious difficulty is that the unscrupulous landlord not only profits more than the socially minded landlord, but he actually makes it difficult for the latter to exist at all under the system. It is the unscrupulous landlord in the long run, who is responsible for a great deal of the shiftlessness and dependency of the tenants which burden must finally be borne by all landlords alike. The hard task master may make more profits, for a time, at least, but in the long run, the shiftless, undernourished, dependent products of his system are thrown back upon society and become a definite liability to all landlords alike.

The tenant is being victimized because his condition of dependency is ever increasing under the present system. His

accommodation to this situation is rapidly approaching the point of accepting abject dependence as a normal condition.

As already suggested, the problem of rectifying landlord tenant inequalities is not particularly the task of the AAA although the application of the program has brought into clearer view some of the fundamental limitations of the relationships as they now exist. On the other

hand, the AAA should be administered in such a way as not to maintain and accentuate these difficulties. The most certain road to the solution of these problems should be along the line of rehabilitating the cropper with a view to making him a full fledged agricultural producer, eligible to coöperate with the production control associations. His best insurance will come through his release from ignorance.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR RURAL RESEARCH UNDER THE FERA*

E. D. TETREAU

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

THE rural research set-up of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration provides for coöperation with the State Emergency Relief Administrations and Colleges of Agriculture and Experiment Stations. Its object is to make possible the prosecution of special inquiries on rural relief and rehabilitation problems on a nation-wide scale; to provide advice and assistance to the Administrators and the Rural Rehabilitation Officers of the State Emergency Relief Administrations with regard to any rural research work they may wish to undertake, and to assist them in the conduct of rural surveys; and to enable coöperating agricultural colleges to obtain data of unusual value and timeliness as a part of their program of research in rural social organization.¹

* Abstract of talk by E. D. Tetreau before the Agricultural Economic and Rural Sociology Section of the Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Atlanta, Georgia, January 31, 1935.

¹ On August 15, 1934, a mimeographed circular entitled "A Plan for Coöperative Rural Research," signed by Corrington Gill, Assistant Administrator of the Federal Emergency Administration, was sent to State Emergency Relief Administrations and Univer-

Understanding of the deep-lying nature of the causes of unemployment, on the one hand, and of the necessity for quick moving and effective administration in dealing with actual want and suffering on the other hand, lies at the root of this plan for the coördination of the research activities of emergency administrations and of established rural research institutions. While recognizing that the need for research in the fundamentals of social organization has not abated, but has rather greatly increased, those who are responsible for this plan have seen that a great deal of fundamental research can be planned and carried on so that single parts or phases of it may be completed in short order and the results used to check or guide administrative policy.

sity and College executives. This plan was a continuation, with some elaboration, of the informal plan already in operation. According to its provisions, rural sociologists or agricultural economists were to be appointed as State Supervisors of Rural Research in twenty or more states in so far as satisfactory arrangements might be perfected. They were to have charge of rural research in their states undertaken by the Federal Emergency Relief Administra-

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Similarly, the plan of cooperative rural research recognizes the need for research developed on local initiative and planned to handle problems that require local study, analysis, and solution. This kind of research requires an intimate knowledge of problems faced by administrators and a first-hand acquaintance with local conditions. It also requires great care in the selection of subjects for investigation, since the results should not only be useful but should be attainable within a reasonable length of time and yet should be significant to rural social theory and a contribution to principles of rural social organization.

This brief paper sets forth in merest outline a number of subjects for research, which have promise of immediate usefulness in a number of states and which also

tion and were to be responsible for the preparation of local reports on such studies. It was also intended that they should furnish advice to the Rural Rehabilitation officer of the State Emergency Relief Administration, and that they assist him in the conduct of rural surveys. In order to facilitate this work each supervisor was to be provided with one or more full time assistant supervisors.

While the duties of both the supervisor and the assistant supervisor should be confined to rural research it was expected that this work should be made as useful as possible to the State Administrator and that they should be attached to his staff in research and advisory capacities. Workers for Federal research projects were to be provided at Federal expense excepting in such instances as where states might conveniently provide professional and technical workers on a state basis. Surveys and projects set up with particular reference to the needs of State Administrations were to be provided with workers and materials at state expense. The use of the plan was entirely optional with State Emergency Relief Administrations and was subject to mutually satisfactory arrangements with the executives of Experiment Stations and Agricultural Colleges.

Cooperative research according to the provisions of this plan is now being carried on in twenty-four states. It is planned to increase this number to meet the requirements of the Federal Research Program and the needs of the State Administrations.

are important from a regional as well as a national point of view but which do not lend themselves easily to the superficial census-taking survey method of investigation. These subjects are presented with the hope that they may stimulate experiment station workers, and others who may have the opportunity to do research, to make selections which fit the needs of their particular states and localities or prepare a similar list reflecting problems in their own states and regions. The subjects are here enumerated without comment:

1. Influence of local relief policies on relief loads.
2. Influence of local government on local policies for the administration of relief.
3. Break-down of community ties of unemployed families and the reintegration of families being rehabilitated into community life.
4. Classification of relief families with respect to their capacities for self-support.
5. Case studies of relief families, evidently suited to do farm labor but not to manage an enterprise, in order to determine the most desirable and most feasible forms of self-support which should be worked out for them.
- ✓ 6. Studies of laborers', croppers', and tenants' families to find those qualified for farm ownership, in order to devise ways of assisting them along the "ladder" toward ownership. Close attention should be given to the conditions of the farming region in which these families are located.
7. Standards of living among relief families.
8. The rôle of supplementary employment in farm economy and in family support.
9. Part-time farming in relation to supplementary employment.
10. Cropper and tenant displacement due to crop adjustment, and due to other causes. Attention to displacement of croppers and tenants and their replacement on individual plantations.
11. Changes in landlord-tenant relations.
12. Changes in the tenure status of farm operators—especially tenants and croppers—during the period since the AAA program has been in operation.

13. Changes in the wage and cropper system.
14. Changes in the income of tenants and croppers due to crop adjustment.
15. Case studies of plantations to ascertain causes for the thriftlessness and poor management of the tenant and the cropper and for the landlord's apparent neglect of the welfare and security of these families.
16. Case study of an agricultural county, let us say a cotton county, in order to obtain a well-rounded appraisal of the effects of the production control program on the welfare of individual farmers and farm workers.
17. Effects of AAA program upon systems of farming on individual farms.
18. Effects of the production control program upon the income of individual farmers including tenants and croppers as well as owners.
19. Effects of agricultural adjustment upon employment and wages of agricultural laborers.
20. Community work centers. What social and economic factors should be taken into account in setting them up? What is a suitable area for such a center? What is the most desirable organizational structure to achieve desired results in a given situation?
21. Ways and means of stimulating the movement of surplus farm population into non-agricultural industries. Study of migrants now in urban centers to determine their present and usual occupations, and their preparation for these occupations before and after their departure from the farm. Relation of their needs to agricultural extension and agricultural education.
22. Appraisal of extent to which rural agencies and institutions offer training and guidance in satisfactory consumption of what farm people produce and of the goods and services they can obtain in exchange for their products. Definition of objectives and planning methods for attainment of practical goals in more adequate and well-balanced consumption.

In order to more fully illustrate the content of studies needed in the solution of practical administrative problems, the results of which might be expected to contribute to the theory of social organization, the problem of finding laborers',

croppers', and tenants' families qualified for farm ownership, and of devising ways of assisting them along the ladder toward ownership is here briefly discussed.

The needed survey must take account of the factors influencing the agriculture of the given locality; the systems of farming in that locality; local assembling and marketing facilities; local banking and retail services available; and social agencies for education and religion. It will require a study of those farm owners and tenants in the selected locality who have successfully moved upward on the agricultural ladder. Under what circumstances did they begin work for themselves? How long were they farm laborers? How long were they croppers? How long have they been tenants? How long since they have achieved ownership? What is the extent of their indebtedness? What forms of assistance have they received from relatives or from others? How many farms have they operated? What were their sizes? Has there been a progressive movement from small to large, from large to small farms, or has the movement been irregular or cyclical? What systems of farming have they used? What crops do they prefer to produce?

This study will require insight into the qualities of the persons who constitute the families, and an understanding of the relationships within the families which appear to have contributed to their success.

It will be necessary to sift local relief rolls to find families which have within them the qualities of physical strength, of mental ability, integrity of character, desirable personal habits, training in the technique of successful household and farm operation, and adaptability, needed to achieve the results expected. To do this will require more than statistics on the number of gainful workers in the family, their usual occupations, and on the

number of mules required to set a given number of families on the road to self-support, important as these facts are. It will require research carried on side by side with experimentation to discover capacities to master the intricate tasks of balanced farming and home-making. One must also know the attitude which the responsible members of the family will take toward obligations, especially those obligations which run over long periods of time and require steadfastness of character to insure regularity of payments.

It will be necessary to discover ways and means of placing them on desirable acreages of land on a long-time tenure basis. Patterns for financial assistance and supervision must be devised and the extent of governmental and of local community responsibility estimated and set forth in working terms.

The kind of knowledge necessary to attack the problem of finding families qualified for farm ownership is all too inadequately discussed. It would require as much or more space to indicate the kind of social knowledge necessary to the social reconstruction of the individual lives of those who have been broken in courage

and deprived of hope by the many months of economic failure and the final desperate acceptance of relief.

While it must be anticipated that there will be a small percentage of failures in any such experiment, the practical purpose of research is to reduce the percentage to the smallest possible margin.

It will be seen at once that this kind of research must be done by social scientists who can work with the tireless alertness and patience of the natural scientist among his test plots, and who possess an unusual amount of insight and understanding.

The quest for knowledge for its own sake motivates the true scientist at all times but the need to solve practical problems lies at the root of much of his achievement. Just now the social scientist is required to keep practical considerations in the foreground, not necessarily forgetting social theory, but utilizing the opportunity which social experimentation offers to test the results of research in a program of practical action. This program must necessarily be adjusted to new facts and be sensitive to the challenge of new trails in social discovery.

STATISTICAL INDUCTION IN RURAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

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MANY, if not most facts are found by induction.

The fact that Lee surrendered on April 9, 1865 is not an induction. But the fact that the South was suffering from malnutrition at the close of the Civil War is an induction based on data from various fragmentary samples. Such an induction may or may not have been achieved with

the aid of statistics. Historical inductions achieved by statistics become more and more rare as we move backward in time. While it can not be denied that numerical indexes are wonderful aids to objectivity—that is, to agreement among competent research workers—it can not be denied also that the majority of the most valuable historical inductions have

been made and can be made without use of statistics. The discipline called statistics simply provides a kit of research tools, as does the discipline called bibliography or the discipline called numismatics. Today, statistics enjoys an unprecedented prestige among social investigators attempting to establish inductions. So great is this prestige, that the word "statistical" has come to be more or less synonymous with the word "scientific." This is unfortunate. In some of the comparatively mature natural sciences of today, such as in portions of qualitative analysis, there is neither direct measurement nor the usually indirect mathematical treatment which is the main function of statistics. Nothing is more unjustified than to brand a social investigator "unscientific" because he does not use statistics. He may be "unscientific"; but if so, it is because he makes inductions not justified by his data, not because he fails to use statistics as a research tool.

By induction we mean in the present context an inference as to the whole from a knowledge of the part. In considering the place of statistics in an induction of rural social research, we shall find it helpful to analyze in some detail a concrete example.

Brunner and Kolb, in their monograph *Rural Social Trends*, asked this question, Has the American village been declining in importance or has it been holding its own? One method of answering this question might have been to write to all the rural sociologists in the country and take an average of their opinions. While these might have been more discerning than the opinions of the wholesale furniture dealers or of the village preachers, it still would represent only opinion. The village might or might not really be going to the dogs. The procedure followed by Brunner and Kolb aimed at being scientific,

in at least a broad sense of the word, rather than at being impressionistic. First, they broke their question down into smaller, more specific questions. One out of several of these specific questions was: Has the size of community area served by the village been expanding or contracting? Since no indexes of size of community area served by villages appear in census volumes, the investigators found that they would have to construct their own indexes, at a cost prohibiting the study of every one of the 8,900 villages in the United States. Fortunately, such indexes had been constructed for the study of 140 villages in 1924 by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten. By re-studying the same 140 villages in 1930, the investigators of *Rural Social Trends* would be able to construct new indexes of community areas served and note the changes in the six-year period. The trends in this sample of 140 villages would be taken as representative of the trends throughout the United States. This induction was attempted.

Using this particular induction frequently as a concrete basis of discussion, let us consider four arbitrary questions which might properly be asked about any induction in the social studies. These questions are: (1) What *a priori* reason is there for hoping that the sample will be representative of the totality which the final generalization is to encompass? (2) What basis is there for estimating the reliability and validity of the indexes used? (3) Is the sample large enough? (4) Is there corroborative evidence from other studies? Let us take up each in turn.

(1) *What a priori reason is there for hoping that the sample will be representative of the totality which the final generalization is to encompass?* This question is best discussed by considering several ways in which a sample may be obtained.

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For instance, all the farmers in a county may be sent questionnaires. The sample is composed of those farmers who happen to return the questionnaires adequately filled in. These may be only 1 in 20; yet any induction as to all the farmers depends for its validity on the tremendous assumption that the 19 out of 20 farmers who failed to reply have had the same experience, on the average, as those who replied. Examples of social investigation using this unfortunate procedure are all too numerous. More often than not, the historian of a period somewhat remote from the present has no choice, but must take his data wherever he is lucky enough to find it.

(b) The sample may be chosen strictly at random over the whole totality studied. For example, a 10 per cent random sample of farmers in a county might be sought by checking off every tenth name in the telephone books. Such a sample might provide basis for a sufficiently accurate induction—not, of course, about all the farmers in the county, but about all who had telephones. Of course, every farmer whose name was checked should be interviewed. Any deviation from the list, because of difficulty of getting information or because of absence from home, tends to weaken the *a priori* basis for hoping that the sample is representative. In selecting the original sample later used in *Rural Social Trends*, Brunner, Hughes, and Patten might have put the name of each village in America on a card, shuffled the cards thoroughly and drawn out 140 by chance. They followed, however, a different procedure.

(c) The totality to be investigated may be divided into groups and sub-groups, and a sample may be drawn at random from each sub-group in such numbers that each sub-group is represented with the same proportion of cases in the sample as in the

whole. The extent to which this method is an improvement over (b) depends somewhat on the relevance of the grouping to the object of inquiry. Suppose that social participation were the object of inquiry, and there was reason to believe that tenants differed in their social participation from owners living on the farm. A sample of the county, with respect to social participation, is most likely to be representative if exactly the same proportion of tenants and farm owners appear in the sample as in the whole county. On the other hand, if tenants and farm owners do not differ in social participation, the gain in representativeness by controlling the proportions in the sample instead of sampling at random from the whole county may be slight.

(d) A modification of the sampling procedure just described is to require the sub-groups in the sample to bear the same proportion in the sample as in the totality, as before, but instead of choosing the constituents of the sample in each sub-group by chance one makes the choice by deliberate consideration of the merits of each case. This was essentially the procedure followed in selecting the 140 villages used by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten and later in *Rural Social Trends*.

"The first step," say Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, "was to discover the number of villages within each state and to estimate the proportion of these which were 'agricultural'. This estimate was based on location and on certain census reports. Thus all villages within commuting distance of cities of more than 100,000 population were rejected, as were all those in predominately industrial counties such as those in the coal fields. Thus the number and population of the agricultural villages were determined for each state. On the basis of these data an estimate was made of the number of villages to be studied in each state and in each major region. Appropriate persons or organizations in thirty-three of the states . . . were asked to suggest incorporated villages which they considered representative of the agricultural area of their states. . . . Efforts were made to

secure independent lists from at least two sources within each state. If the name of a village appeared on two or more lists, it was tentatively selected for field study. Villages suggested by only one person, institution, or agency were submitted to others within the same state for criticism."

Strictly speaking, the original sample as chosen should be used without modification in the course of the investigation. Often this is impracticable. Brunner, Hughes, and Patten began with 150 villages, which was reduced by 10, due in a few cases to lack of coöperation by the village, or more frequently to the impossibility of fixing a date suitable to both the village leaders and the surveyors. In two instances workers, on arrival, discovered the village to be so unrepresentative as to warrant dropping from the study. While this particular final sample of 140 may have been more nearly representative of the country than the original sample of 150, such a surgical operation as was performed all too often has the effect of amputation rather than orthopedic adjustment and must be done with extreme reluctance and caution. It should be noted, too, that the sample obtained by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten, has not quite an *a priori* claim to represent every section of the country. New England, for example, was omitted because census data were not comparable with the rest of the country. Finally, even if the 140 villages in the sample were representative of the country apart from New England in 1924, this fact would be no guarantee that they were still representative, when re-studied in 1930 and were therefore representative of the changes which may have occurred. Indeed, as any student of index numbers knows, the farther away the base year in which a sample is selected the less representative it is in the current year. On the other hand, the percentage of losses or gains in the sample might well be more

representative than the figures for absolute size either in 1924 or 1930.

The logical problems involved in the selection of a method for securing representativeness have not yet been fully explored. Experts are not yet in agreement on many points. While it is agreed that the use of relevant controls improves precision and that a large number of small units is generally better than a small number of large units, there is not agreement, for example, on the wisdom of selecting the constituents of the sample in each sub-group by deliberate consideration of the merits of each case instead of by chance. Good arguments can be presented for and against the procedure used by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten. Such unsettled problems are among the most interesting and important in all social research. The latest and perhaps the most searching contribution to the subject of representative sampling is a mathematical paper by Neyman in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, XCVII, 1934, 558-625.

Thus far we have discussed four of the ways in which a sample may be obtained. Except for the first method, which is rather a lack of method, each of these procedures is devised to provide some *a priori* reason for hoping that the sample will be representative of the totality which the generalization is to encompass. In certain cases, the expected range of error can be estimated with fair accuracy. In any case, however, there remains an act of faith to be performed.

If induction in the best of circumstances puts a certain amount of strain on one's faith, what about the more bold extensions from a part to a whole which we may call, for want of a better term, *conditional inductions*? For example, an area, such as a block of adjacent counties, may be the region of investigation, and the sample within these counties may be selected by one or another

of the representative sampling procedures previously discussed. Yet neither the investigators, the financiers backing the study, nor the readers may have much interest in this particular area *per se*. This block of counties may be of interest only because there are certain grounds for thinking that they are characteristic of a wider region, perhaps the whole corn belt. Then why not take the sample by some representative method from the whole corn belt? There are often two good reasons: (1) The cost may be prohibitive, especially if house-to-house investigation is required. (2) There is some assurance that the induction will be at least sound as applying to the limited region studied and, therefore, can be used in comparison with subsequent studies made by other investigators in other limited regions of the corn belt. While the induction properly applies only to the region studied, what might be called a provisional induction as to the whole corn belt may flow from such a study; although the investigators are not always sufficiently aware of its provisional nature. This provisional induction is merely a useful hypothesis whose fate depends on further research.

It should be noted that a provisional induction may cover a region outside of the population sampled not only in *space* but also in *time*. For instance, our group of counties may have been sampled in June, 1933. Strictly, the induction applies only to this point in time. If, however, there are grounds for thinking that conditions relevant to the particular inquiry were about the same for some time previous, a provisional induction may encompass this earlier period. Historical research is forced continually to make provisional inductions of this kind.

Moreover, a provisional induction may not only encompass a past period of time but may encompass a short future period.

Sometimes in social research we have enough faith in the regularity of phenomena to push a provisional induction at least a very few years into the future. If studies made at various times and in various places—for example, the studies of Carl Zimmerman and others—show that the superior and the inferior have been migrating from the country to the city and leaving the medium in ability at home, there may be more grounds for expecting a continuance than an abrupt reversal of this trend. At this point, we part company, for the first time in our discussion, with research of a strictly historical nature. *A priori* grounds for hoping that the sample will be representative of a totality embracing even a brief period of future time are not provided directly by any procedure for selecting a single sample giving a cross section of phenomena at a single point in time. They are provided, in so far as they exist at all, by a knowledge of the regularity of phenomena between two or more time intervals and by general impressions, which are highly subjective and therefore likely to be distorted by vivid exceptional instances or by stimuli for which the particular investigator happens to have what is sometimes called a "lowered threshold." Conditional inductions of this type are often the happy hunting ground of wishful thinking. We shall leave entirely out of the picture the far more ambitious inductions aiming at becoming universals. We are omitting them because time does not permit an adequate discussion and because social research has not yet provided illustrative basis for a constructive treatment of the subject.

In concluding the discussion of methods of providing *a priori* for the representativeness of a sample, we should emphasize that we have been speaking of representativeness which is relevant to the particu-

lar object of a particular inquiry. In comparing the abilities of boys who migrate from the farm to the city and of those who stay at home, the proportions of each group in the population may be irrelevant to the inquiry. It may, indeed, be desirable to choose a sample of equal size from each group; or even to limit the inquiry to a sample of n pairs of brothers, one of whom went away and one of whom stayed on the farm. *Investigation which thus circumscribes the population sampled is often the most fruitful of all in social research.* The importance of making some *a priori* provision for relevant representativeness is unchanged. Of course, it should be noted that occasionally there are studies where representativeness is not necessary. This is sometimes the case in research whose aim is not to give an accurate historical picture, but rather to test experimentally the validity of a method or an index. Incidentally, this sometimes provides a useful *raison d'être* for a study which was badly set up in the beginning. Failing at his original purpose of describing a situation, the author justifies his labors as an exercise in method.

2. We come now to the second question which may be asked about a particular induction, namely, "*What basis is there for estimating the reliability and validity of the indexes used?*" Since this question applies equally to studies making a complete description of a totality and to those making an induction about a totality from a knowledge of the part, we shall treat it very briefly. The words reliability and validity are used in the sense given them in psychological measurement.

In determining reliability we answer the question, "Does the index measure something consistently?" If the index is the score on a test of social attitudes, let us say, the reliability may be determined by splitting the test into two halves and not-

ing whether each half yields about the same score. Not always is such a simple procedure possible. In the *Rural Social Trends* study the supposed community area of a given village was mapped in 1930 by a procedure similar to that used by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten in 1924 and an index in square miles was constructed for each period. Since a given map involved many rather arbitrary judgments one test of the reliability might have been to have had all the mapping done by two independent investigators. This would have been too expensive; yet it might have been illuminating if a few of the maps had been so checked. Since the investigators had no satisfactory test of the reliability of the maps, they properly allowed a margin of error. Unless a community area was expanded or contracted at least two square miles in the six year period, it was considered not to have changed significantly in size.

Parallel with reliability—"Does the index measure something consistently?"—goes the question of validity. In determining validity we answer the question, "Does the index measure what it purports to measure?" This is often another way of saying "Have we given the index an appropriate or misleading name?" Validity usually is much more difficult to evaluate than reliability. Use of two indexes instead of one is always helpful in establishing reliability, but it may or may not throw light on validity. For example, two different tests of social attitudes may agree in their scores, yet neither test may be measuring what the investigator and his readers understand by social attitudes. Even when the index appears ready-made in a census volume and even when it is reliable, there is danger of inflating an induction by imputing too much meaning to the index. An example is the frequent use of the figure "per cent urban"

in a county as an index of "urbanization" or of "urban sentiments."

In *Rural Social Trends* the community area served by a village was taken as "that area in which a majority of the people are served by a majority of the social, economic, and religious services. . . . The community boundary . . . may be considered an average of all service lines, sometimes the modal line." The technique used by Brunner, Hughes, and Patten and repeated by Brunner and Kolb utilized the experience of many others who have attempted to define community areas, including Galpin, Kolb, and Sanderson, and it is reasonable to think that this definition of a community area is valid, in the sense that it corresponds to the *working* concept which competent investigators in rural social research generally understand community area to mean. Of course, it may or may not correspond to a *theoretical* concept, as, for example, MacIver's concept of community area; but failure of a generally accepted *working* concept to correspond with a *theoretical* concept can not be taken as evidence of lack of validity of a definition conforming to the *working* concept. There are almost as many theoretical concepts as there are speculative writers—see, for example the exhibit in Eubank's *Concepts in Sociology*. Logically and aesthetically satisfying as theoretical concepts may be, they are of doubtful practical value to research unless they are framed in such words that they can be used directly in a process of verification.

A final word is needed as to the aphorism that no study rises above the accuracy of its basic data. Like most aphorisms this is untrue. In the first place, accuracy is not an absolute but a relative term, and, in the second place, an average is always more accurate than the basic data from which it is derived. This does not, of

course, free the investigator from need of caution. Particularly, it is important to know whether the error is consistently in one direction, as in the underenumeration of children under 1 year of age by the census, or whether it varies, now overestimating, now underestimating. If the error is constant an average or a regression coefficient will be inaccurate, yet a correlation coefficient may be unaffected; if the error is variable and self cancelling, an average or a regression coefficient may be accurate, yet a correlation coefficient may be underestimated. The problem is magnified if partial correlation is used; nor does a student need an appalling number of variables like twelve or sixteen before he gets into water over his head. Four variables are bad enough.

3. The third question in appraising the validity of an induction is: "*Is the sample large enough?*"

In answering this question, the statistician is sometimes expected to pull rabbits out of his hat. It is true that there are certain sleight-of-hand tricks. Unfortunately, most of them can not be played until the data are collected and summarized, and it may be too late to make amends. To the researcher exploring a new field little advice can be given as to the size of sample which he will need, except the larger the better. If the data eventually are to be divided into subgroups, about each of which the author wishes to generalize, it is often sound procedure to fix a minimum number for the sample from the smallest sub-group and let this minimum govern the ultimate size of the whole sample.

In *Rural Social Trends* the sample we have been considering contained 140 villages, but the far west was represented by only 22. When these 22 villages were again subdivided into small, medium, and large, the subgroups contained only 5, 8,

and 9 villages respectively. Common-sense, quite apart from the requirements of mathematical statistics, suggests that an average or other statistical measure based on any of these sub-groups would have little dependability. As an extreme example, the average community area of the five small Far West villages in 1924 was 119 square miles; if two villages had been omitted the average area of the three remaining would have been only 47 square miles. The authors, as we shall see, were on their guard; *Rural Social Trends* makes no inductions about changes in community areas for any groups containing less than about 30 cases.

After the sample is collected, its adequacy as to size can be put to the test. If the investigator is uncertain whether his sample is sufficiently large and his findings sufficiently striking to convince himself and other competent observers that somewhat similar findings are likely to be found in successive samples which might be drawn, he is likely to call upon the statistics of probability for help. The formulas logically appropriate to induction which is strictly historical in nature are the formulas for sampling from what is called a "limited universe." When the sample is small in comparison with the "universe," as in *Rural Social Trends* where the sample represented only two per cent of American villages, these formulas differ little from the better known sampling formulas usually given in the text-books. Unless the sample embraces more than 1/10 of the universe, the conventional formulas for sampling from an unlimited universe are frequently a satisfactory approximation; in any case the error in the use of the conventional formula is in the direction of underestimating rather than overestimating significant differences. It is fortunate that the conventional formulas can be generally used,

because the mathematics of sampling from an unlimited universe has been much more thoroughly investigated than the mathematics of other forms of sampling. This is especially the case where the significance of differences between groups of relatively small sub-samples is in question; most of the new and powerful tools for such an analysis developed by R. A. Fisher and others assume that the universe is unlimited.

When the induction to be made is of the type which we have called conditional, a new problem appears. Suppose that we sample one in three farms in a county. If our aim is solely a historical induction about this particular county in June 1933, the limited-universe sampling theory clearly should be used. But if we extend our induction to include "any or all counties which may have happened in June, 1933, to resemble the one studied" the unlimited-universe sampling theory is applicable. The unlimited-universe theory likewise applies if we extend our induction forward or backward in time from the date of the sample, to include "any or all counties which may have happened or may happen within a few years before or after June, 1933, to resemble the one studied."

To evaluate the practical difficulties in using the beautiful equipment of sampling theory in a social investigation would require a paper by itself, or several papers. The writer made an attempt to consider certain of the difficulties in a chapter in *Fields and Methods of Sociology*, edited by L. L. Bernard, and need not repeat the discussion here. Suffice it to say, that the admonitions contained in a text-book like that of Yule, supplemented by those of writers like R. A. Fisher and E. B. Wilson, should be taken earnestly to heart before one puts reliance on what his sampling formulas seem to say. The day is yet to

come when the theory of probability can be used as mechanically as a typewriter.

If Brunner and Kolb used a statistical sampling theory to test the adequacy of their sample, the report does not indicate it. They found that, between 1924 and 1930, 39 of the 140 village-community areas had expanded, 12 had contracted, while 89 had changed less than two square miles. They found also that the average expansion was 8.8 square miles. Since the standard deviation of the gains or losses in the 140 community areas is not reported, the significance of the average of 8.8 can not be tested statistically. The probability of getting by chance as many as 39 gains in a sample of 51 villages which either gained or lost in community area, may be tested on the hypothesis that gains and losses were about equal in the universe sampled. Since so many gains would occur by chance less than once in a thousand times under ideal sampling conditions, the hypothesis that gains and losses were about equal in the universe sampled appears false. What the true proportion of gains and losses in the universe sampled is, we can not know nor is it perhaps essential to know. We simply feel confident that if we kept on sampling indefinitely, we would usually find more villages that gained than lost in community area.

Further confirmation of the adequacy of the sample to establish the significance of the increase is the fact that in every subgroup of villages in the sample by geographical region and size of village there were more gains than losses in area; while there was an average gain in square miles in area among the villages of every subgroup but one. It is fortunate for the investigators that such a large excess of gains over losses turned up in the sample. If it had been less striking, a much larger sample would have been required to establish the likelihood that gains exceeded

the losses in the universe studied. Indeed, when the authors elsewhere used the same sample of 140 villages to study the increase or decrease in average number of rural neighborhoods in each village community area, their findings seem to be much less striking and would seem to require a larger sample for adequate induction.

It hardly can be repeated too often that statistical tests of significance are helpful only in answering the question, "Is the sample large enough?" They support an induction only when there are good reasons for believing that the sample was so chosen that it is representative of the region encompassed in the induction.

As a final commentary on size of sample, we may refer to a rather wistful rationalization often heard in social research: "Well, maybe my sample didn't turn out to be large enough to prove anything positively; but that very finding is just as valuable as positive results." But is it? If a rather small sample shows a significant difference between, let us say, two proportions, it is quite likely that a larger sample will show a still more significant difference. But if a small sample does not show a significant difference, one often has no idea what a larger sample would show. The verdict is neither "guilty" nor "not guilty"; it is the Scotch verdict "not proven." It often requires an enormously large sample to justify an induction that a difference between two measures is in the neighborhood of zero, as contrasted with the admission that the findings are inconclusive.

4. Our fourth and last question regarding the validity of an induction may be discussed very briefly. It is: "*Is there corroborative evidence from other studies?*"

In natural science, it is often required that an experiment be duplicated by a second independent investigator before its results can be accepted into the canon.

In social research, there has been little deliberate effort to duplicate or parallel a study in order to test the validity of an induction. Perhaps, this is because social research is still young. There is more prestige and satisfaction in pioneer work than in a follow-up study which provides less scope for one's knack in making inventions. One of the virtues of the investigation of community areas in *Rural Social Trends* is the checking of the results with a second project. The villages in 21 counties, widely distributed over the United States, were studied as to gains and losses in community areas between 1920 and 1930. The results, while not published in detail, seemed to the authors sufficiently corroborative of the findings in the sample of 140 villages to justify their final induction, namely that throughout most of the country a large proportion of the villages have at least been holding their own in size of community area while among those which have changed the trend has been more in the direction of expansion than of contraction.

This induction is, of course, only one of several which the authors attempted to establish by way of justifying the still more comprehensive generalization that the majority of villages have been holding their own or increasing in the importance of their services during recent years. If this paper should do nothing more than encourage a rural social investigator to give more attention to corroborating work that he or others already have done, even at the expense of less spectacular pioneering, it may be worth the time spent here.

Nevertheless, let us be careful to keep a sense of proportion. There are at least two situations in which it is unnecessary or impossible to subject an intended induction to the tests which this paper has suggested as ideal: (1) When the subject may be too obvious to need rigorous in-

quiry. (2) When the subject may not be important enough to justify rigorous inquiry. Obviously, not all subjects in a given investigation are of equal importance; money and time are usually limited; therefore, the investigator must know where to compromise. Perhaps what best distinguishes brilliant research from pedantry is the extent to which the investigator has displayed what is sometimes called "a sense for the significant."

Recognition also must be given to a third situation, in which rigorous tests of induction may or may not be in order but in which the final criterion is mainly a unanimity of feeling that an artist's picture is "true." Except indirectly in a study of town-country mutual attitudes, *Rural Social Trends* evaded such a question as "What has been the trend in the morale of American villagers?" Did villagers feel in 1930 that their communities were more and more becoming stagnant waters; that they were more and more isolated from the swift and interesting currents of American life? Or were the villagers feeling new satisfactions in village life, new enthusiasm for the rôles in which residence within a village community area cast them?

Since an answer to such questions might require interviews of selected persons in selected villages, the tests which this paper has been discussing might be applicable. Indeed, the interviews might involve merely the checking of responses to questionnaires. On the other hand, they might involve the telling of stories. All the stories collected by the investigator can not be published; certain are selected. Like an artist, the author of the study selects a detail here and a detail there for his canvas, seeking to portray the picture of village morale which his imagination has constructed. You and I look at the canvas, and use the stimuli there presented

to reconstruct with the aid of our past experience the picture in the artist's head. Unless it jars our expectations, we say it is a true picture. The foregoing rapid characterization of a method which has been used skilfully in rural research by such writers as J. M. Williams makes no claim to adequacy. Particularly, we have failed to demarcate boundaries between fiction, such as Rolvaag's *Giants in the Earth* and the first cousin of fiction, such as Sandburg's *Lincoln: The Prairie Years*, which places closer restrictions on an author's imagination. The whole subject is, of course, beyond the scope of the present paper. It is mentioned here only by way of attempting to see statistical induction, the main subject of our remarks, in an undistorted setting. While the trend in rural research has been perhaps toward the method used by Brunner and Kolb, a very profitable meeting might be

devoted soon to a critical reconsideration of the criteria of validity and the practical values of the method used by J. M. Williams.

The possibility of eventually imitating physical science in its establishment of universal inductions has not been denied; neither has it been affirmed. Experience in social investigations is too young to permit any discussion of universal inductions except in the abstract. Usually, the most we can do is to project results haltingly and then only within the limits of a restricted culture area. This projection, no matter how meticulous our methods in the original historical study, is often just a layman's guess. We have not yet been vouchsafed credentials to serve as the oracles of Apollo. And what of it? There is solid, important work to be done, and rural social research is doing it conscientiously.

PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES: THE NEW DEAL AND THE NEW SOCIAL RESEARCH

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MANKIND in a test-tube is the hope and aim of social science.

Students of human behavior have long envied the chemists and physicists who are releasing the secrets of nature through experimentation and laboratory procedure. The exacting methods of the laboratory have been responsible for the phenomenal advance of the physical sciences. The gap between the accumulated knowledge of the physical sciences and the social sciences is largely explained by the difference in the exact methods of the former and the floundering methods of the latter. Man knows more about the atom than he knows about himself.

The promise of a more exact knowledge of human relations must come from a development of experimental methods that will approximate in precision the techniques of the laboratory scientists. No one, however, can deny the progress in the social sciences. But with all the exacting methods developed, the economists, sociologists, and political scientists, have suffered from a lack of large-scale experimental set-ups to match the every-day resources of their brother scientists in the laboratory.

The current enthusiasm over planning and the planning schemes now being devised by the alphabetical corporations of

the Federal government furnish some hopes that this deficiency may be partially remedied. The blueprints of these agencies and the carrying out of their plans may well be looked upon as the creation of experimental laboratories for the social scientists, and for the social workers, educators, and administrators who may profit from their research.

These laboratories set up by the planning agencies of the New Deal permit a more effective use of the experimental method in the research projects of the social scientists. This research in turn would not only be an addition to science but would also be a form of social auditing for the planning authorities in noting and accounting the changes wrought by the programs. The investigator combines here the rôles of scientist and citizen.¹ Hence there is a practical relationship between planning, experimentation, and social auditing for both social scientist and administrator. Excellent examples of the possibilities in this direction lie in the wholesale changes in social behavior brought about by the repeal of prohibition, the program of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and more particularly, the low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects of the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration.

The essence of the experimental method in social research, as Chapin has pointed out,² is the study of social behavior through observations made under controlled conditions. It is an attempt to

conduct research by keeping constant as many forces or factors as possible which may influence a given social situation. This procedure permits the elimination of these forces or factors as disturbing elements causing a certain form of social behavior and allows the investigator to concentrate attention and analysis on variable or non-controlled disturbing and causative factors. When a criminologist uses the device of a control group in his investigation he is utilizing a familiar and perhaps most commonly employed experimental technique. He compares a non-delinquent group with a delinquent group and tries to have the non-delinquent group match the delinquent group as nearly as possible in education, nationality, economic status, and other similar factors known by experience to influence a certain form of social behavior. He cannot say that the delinquency is precipitated by membership in a certain nationality group or that it is due to a certain economic status, for these two factors would be constant and present in both the delinquent and non-delinquent groups. He must look for the influence of other factors and for other explanations. This is all similar to the work of an Arrowsmith in testing the effectiveness of a certain serum in curing a particular disease. One group is inoculated and another is not. Both groups are given the same food and live under the same conditions, these are constant factors. The variable factor is the inoculation. If the inoculated group gets well *ergo* mighty medicine says it's no doubt due to the inoculation.

It goes without saying that the enormous planning enterprises and the experimental situations which these plans set up make of Soviet Russia a paradise for the research social scientists. Russia is the most colossal experimental laboratory for the study of human nature ever created

¹ See Read Bain, "Scientist as Citizen," *Social Forces*, March, 1933, pp. 412-15, for an excellent and timely discussion of how the cloistered objectivity of the scientist makes him oblivious of his rôle as citizen.

² See F. Stuart Chapin, "The Experimental Approach in the Study of Family Group Patterns," *Social Forces*, December, 1932, pp. 200-07. Also, F. Stuart Chapin, "The Problem of Controls in Experimental Sociology," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, May, 1931, pp. 541-51.

by man. At no time in the stream of human history has there been as violent and as wholesale a transformation in the living conditions of so large a segment of humanity, for the U.S.S.R. is one-sixth of the earth's surface and one-twelfth of its population.

The emphasis upon experimental methods in the social sciences is not a vicious attempt on the part of those social scientists interested in this approach to order people around and regiment their behavior. The business of these scientists is to study, not administrate. These students merely hope to use the more exacting techniques of observation and investigation, the value of which is attested by the history of science, in perfecting an important addition to logic and insight for the advancement of human welfare through the power of a more exact knowledge.

Adequate social planning demands a knowledge of the field of operation of the planning programs, be it foreign exchange or slum-clearance. Planning, furthermore, calls for a rigid observation and "control" over the possible factors which may affect a given situation. "Control" is an attempt to observe and measure the forces put into operation and the results produced by these forces. A certain percentage of reduction of the gold content of the dollar may raise prices so much, or the transfer of the slum population of River Bottom to the model community of Sunlight Gardens reduce by a certain percentage the number of delinquents in a given population.

Control in many instances is made more effective by the fact that the planning agency is the source of many of the new influences and forces which are made to operate in setting up and changing certain social situations. Control further means that large-scale experiments are set up for influencing human behavior and that these

controlled situations approximate the wished for experiments in the more exact physical sciences. All this calls for some form of social auditing to determine the effect of the forces set in operation by the planning authorities. Planning unaccompanied by research is of little avail since only by research can we find out what changes for better or for worse have been brought about by these plans.

Many of us can see all this in the economic manouvers of the Federal agencies in such projects as that of managed currency and the programs of the AAA. However, not as many of us can appreciate the fact that there are programs of a more social nature in the repeal of prohibition, the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and the projects of the Housing Division of the PWA in terms of the changes in social behavior which these programs may effect.

Repeal calls for a comparison of the drinking habits of the nation during three periods: "before prohibition"; "during prohibition"; "after repeal." This field in particular has been notoriously neglected by the social scientists. So infinitesimal is our knowledge of the social effects of the legal and illegal consumption of liquor that instead of relying on the findings of careful research we have to base our opinions on the colorful utterances of Al Smith and the thunder of Bishop Cannon. This condition exists despite the fact that the country is now a virtual laboratory for every type of experiment from wet to dry spots, from state control to free and open sale of liquor.

In the Tennessee Valley mountaineers are being hurled from primitive conditions to living in an industrial empire made possible by giant power. They are going to be different folk from what they once were. Electricity will give them the shock that will make them jump from the

eighteenth to the twentieth century. What changes in the social habits of these people will be brought about by this radical alteration of their environmental conditions?

Public housing programs will mean that people nurtured in the slums and then permitted to live in modern communities of low-cost homes will perhaps behave differently from the way they once acted. America has been woefully negligent in providing adequate housing for its lower-income groups. We are beginners in public housing and have much to learn from the continental and English housing experts who, despite the devastated finances of their countries, have built thousands of apartments and homes. Vienna, Hamburg, London, and Moscow, are excellent testimonials of their skill and zeal. It is along these lines that we want to emphasize for purposes of detailed illustration, the possibilities of planning, experimentation, and social auditing in the low-cost housing and slum-clearance projects which the Housing Division of the PWA is developing in a dozen or more cities throughout the nation.

Enthusiasm regarding these housing projects has waxed and waned, but enough headway has been made in Atlanta, Louisville, New York, Cleveland, and other cities³ to warrant the belief that low-cost housing will be a reality in some cities if only for the purpose of demonstrating what can be done. Through this program the housing authorities are planning to alter the living conditions of great bodies of the population in a number of cities.

Do slums make slum people or do slum people make the slums? Will changing the living conditions significantly change

the social behavior of the people affected? The public housing projects may furnish the made-to-order test-tubes to help in answering these fascinating and bewildering questions.

The accumulating studies of the sociologists reveal the slums as the sore spots of our modern industrial civilization. In the slum areas of our urban centers are found high rates of delinquency, adult crime, dependency, tax delinquency, sickness, malnutrition, insanity, and similar conditions, together with such characteristic groups as delinquent gangs and institutions of vice. These institutions and conditions epitomize the so-called viciousness of the slum. The implication is that if these people lived under more wholesome conditions there would not be as much delinquency, dependency, sickness, among them. No doubt—but how much less delinquency, dependency, sickness? Compare a slum group with the people living in a suburb. Less delinquency, dependency, and sickness? To be sure. But the people living in the suburbs are not similar to the people living in the slums in terms of certain significant factors. They are usually wealthier, better educated, healthier, than the slum dwellers. The layman would call this an unfair comparison. The best way we can answer this problem, perhaps, is to compare the social indices (rates of delinquency, dependency, adult crime, sickness, and similar factors) characteristic of a given population while living in the slum with the social indices of the same or a similar population after living in the changed environment of a model community. This would mean a "before and after" study. In other words we would have to employ the exacting techniques of an experimental approach. This would permit controlled observation and enable us to know with more precision the difference which

³ See Harold L. Ickes, "The Federal Housing Program," *New Republic*, December 19, 1934, pp. 155-57.

may occur in social behavior accompanying a change in social environment brought about by the altering of living conditions. Graphically, it would be like transferring a population mass from Test Tube 1 of Liquid A to Test Tube 2 of Liquid B and finding out what happens.

Certain of the social indices may be reduced to monetary items in terms of costs to the government (costs of delinquency, adult crime, dependency, police protection, sickness, and similar factors) and a comparison made of the costs to the government preceding and following slum clearance or the transference of a slum population to a model community on more open land. Specifically, such a program may reduce delinquency and adult crime. The cost-per-delinquent and the cost-per-adult-criminal may be computed and the differential in lower costs to the state that may result from the housing program calculated. A computation may be made of the social cost differential in favor of the new communities which may be logically considered a governmental and social saving. Such a body of data may even serve as a basis for recruiting financial support to future housing programs.

The experimental method in a research program of the kind suggested would depend on the plans of the housing authorities and the developments accompanying these plans. Suppose the program for the city of Metropolis is that of slum clearance (we shall call this Plan I), with a significant part of the old population of former residents returning to live in the rebuilt community. Then the investigator would have to compute the social indices in terms of rates of delinquency, dependency, adult crime, sickness, and like factors, of a sample population for whatever number of years he decides is satisfactory for his purpose before slum clearance, and follow the same procedure for

the sample group after the population had taken up residence in the model community and after it had been "exposed" to the living conditions of a more wholesome environment. Hence he would study the social indices in their "before" aspects, and later in their "after" aspects, and then figure out the *differences* in these social indices. These differences the investigator would attribute to the changed living conditions for he would have held a number of significant factors constant. Why? Because the same population was studied throughout the investigation and the principal variable was that of differences in living conditions. But suppose a research bureau decides to make a study of this sort *after* the slum population had moved to the new community. Will it mean that the study could not be inaugurated? Not necessarily, for the investigator would then become a contemporary archeologist and comb the records of the city from the juvenile court to the social agencies for his data. In any event he would have to do something of this sort whether he began his study before or after the slum was cleared.

Now the identical procedure of study may be followed in Plan II, a much better program (as we shall point out later), of transferring a population from the slum to a model community built on more open land, perhaps in the suburbs. The same "before and after" analysis may be made of a sample slum population moved to a less congested area.

The slum clearance program of Plan I as a gesture towards better housing for a congested population is an unsatisfactory procedure in many instances. This springs out of the very nature of the slum in our unplanned and unregulated modern American cities. Slums are typically found where rents are low but where space values

tend to rise.⁴ They are located on speculative and highly priced properties, for they are on the fringe of the commercial areas and the hope of the landlords is that the central business district will incorporate the slum. All this is based, among other things, on the belief that urban populations will continue to increase, a belief not substantiated by recent population statistics. Stability of population means a curb on speculation and a more realistic basis for land valuation. But where speculative values exist and high cost land is purchased for slum clearance a large slice of the cost of rearing the new structures is eaten up by the land and hence huge apartments are constructed with the possible resultant of a greater congestion than was apparent before the slum was cleared. This would mean rents beyond the reach of the lower income groups. However, through expert handling and accumulation of land, the Housing Division of the PWA is attempting to make possible the valuation of slum property on a realistic utility rather than on a speculative basis. Slum clearance is perhaps not unsatisfactory in the aspects mentioned here for cities under the 250,000 class.

The purchase of more open land for the construction of model homes, as suggested in Plan II, is the best policy. This means that cheaper lands can be utilized and more money spent for basic housing and community planning for parks, playgrounds, streets, and ample sunshine. Community planning is an indispensable part of adequate housing.⁵ Furthermore, there is no need in this late day to have thousands of

people jammed in close quarters within close proximity to their work. Rapid and cheap transportation enables workers to be within easy distance of the factory, office, and workshop, though they live miles away.

The hitch in Plans I and II comes in the distinct possibility that the new residents in a model community may not all come from a particular slum locality. The new development of Sunlight Gardens in Metropolis may have residents drawn from Slums A, B, C, and perhaps a number of neighborhoods of a not-so-slumish character. We shall call such a possibility Plan III. Does this mean we shall have to abandon the experimental approach? Nor necessarily. After things have settled in Sunlight Gardens the investigator would analyze the social indices of its population. Then the investigator would assume the rôle of a social Arrowsmith and try to get a satisfactory control group. His control group would be a slum population which continued to live in the slum. The investigator, we shall say, finds such a population in the slum of the Roundhouse District. But he would have to get a slum control group that as nearly as possible matched the population of Sunlight Gardens on such factors as nationality, religion, education, economic status, and similar conditions. Then he would analyze the social indices of his slum control group and after computing these measuring sticks compare these indices with the social indices of Sunlight Gardens and compute the *differences* in these indices. Now the closer the control group of the Roundhouse District is to the population of Sunlight Gardens the more nearly the investigator would be on safe ground in concluding that the differences in the social indices were due to differences in living conditions. We would hence be in a better position to gauge the benefits of

⁴ Nels Anderson, "The Slum Endures," *Survey*, March 15, 1927, 799 ff.

⁵ See Albert Mayer, "New Homes for a New Deal," *New Republic*, February 14, 1934, pp. 7-9. Also Albert Mayer, "Housing: A Call to Action," *Nation*, April 18, 1934, pp. 435-36.

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model housing to the people of Sunlight Gardens.

A check on the results obtained above and supplementary qualitative analysis may be secured though a clinical study of the population of Sunlight Gardens. Case studies of the past behavior of the population, or enough of the population to furnish a good sample, as reflected by such indicators as delinquency, dependency, sickness, and like factors, of the Sunlight Gardeners could be made before they took up residence in the new community. Similar case studies on the same items could then be made after the population had lived for some time and had been "exposed" to the environment of the model community. A comparison may then be effected and the differences in the results obtained credited to a large degree to the variations in housing and living conditions.

The change of residence from the slum of River Bottom to Sunlight Gardens may permit an important qualitative analysis of the subtle influence of a variation in living conditions on the personalities of the Sunlight Gardeners. Down on congested Delancey Street little Joe never would play base-ball with the gang. He was afraid of cars, an auto had run over

him once. In a crowded apartment on the same block old Mr. Flannagan would grumble all the time because a room full of children wouldn't let him read his newspaper in peace. In Sunlight Gardens Joe could play ball on the playground and Mr. Flannagan would stop grumbling, there would be plenty of room in the house and the children would be in the open air. It would be an ideal set-up for a psychiatrist.

Bold are these plans and pious are the hopes that engender them. The "before" and "after" aspects of experiments need auditing. Studies of the character mentioned and particularly of the social effects of public housing need to be prosecuted for certain selected communities by some great public spirited foundation as the Russell Sage or as an adjunct of the housing project itself. A minimum study from the point of view of social policy would be a census of the population after residence in the model community to find out the character of the group attracted to the new environment. The economic experiments of the administration from the NRA to the AAA are being studied by the governmental agencies and the Brookings Institution of Washington. Why not studies of social experiments?

PERSONALITY AND CULTURAL RESEARCH IN THE TENNESSEE VALLEY

WILLIAM E. COLE

University of Tennessee

WHEN the Civil Works Administration launched its program last winter, the Tennessee Valley Authority, realizing the need for a great deal more basic social and economic data than were then available in the Tennessee Valley area, requested of the Civil

Works Administration a grant to carry out a project in the collection of fundamental social data. After consideration of the project, the request was granted by the Civil Works Administration.

The Tennessee Valley Authority then called together fifteen representatives of

the land-grant colleges and state departments of education in the area to discuss projects and the possibilities of co-operation. Some of these representatives tendered *gratis* their services as research supervisors, outlining projects that promised to be of value to the Tennessee Valley Authority, as well as to the institutions and state departments. A coordinator was appointed; the supervisors selected their personnel; and the work was begun. Three steering committees composed of these supervisors, one in sociology, one in economics and government, and one in education, were appointed to guide the work. This work continued over a period of five months. It is with a brief statement of some of these projects relating to sociology that this report deals.¹

Very little is known of Tennessee's pre-history, other than that it was one of the most densely populated areas in the United States in pre-historic days. Some investigations were carried on in Tennessee by the Smithsonian Institution in the latter part of the last century, but archaeological technique was in such a low stage of development at that time that practically no information of any significance was obtained. During the last thirty years an occasional minor scientific exploration has been attempted, and sufficient results were obtained to indicate the amazing abundance of the archaeological resources of Tennessee and adjacent areas.

At the request of the Smithsonian Institution and other agencies responsible for the preservation and investigation of our archaeological resources, the Tennessee Valley Authority sponsored an archaeological survey of Norris Dam Basin in East Tennessee during the first six months of 1934, in order that a scientific record might

be made prior to the inundation of the area. The labor and supervisory staff were furnished by the State Emergency Relief Administration.

The investigation of the Norris area, as well as that of the Wheeler Dam area in Alabama, was directed by Major William S. Webb, head of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Kentucky, and Mr. T. M. N. Lewis, of the University of Tennessee. Their successful efforts in coordinating the two most extensive archaeological investigations ever to be made in the United States are commendable. It is expected that a report of the work will be published before the end of the coming year.

The Norris Basin investigation disclosed much hitherto unknown ethnology. All earthworks in the basin, as well as some in the area bordering on the basin, were investigated, and many of the town sites were found to contain the remains of ancient town houses.

Dozens of burials of adult males, females, and children were also encountered with their mortuary offerings. More than one cultural group was encountered, but it has not yet been possible to identify the particular groups which inhabited the area prior to the Cherokee occupation. Ethnologists are now busy determining the various cultural groups.

Mention should be made at this point of a study of the *Melungeons of Hancock County, Tennessee*, which will be completed during the spring. The Melungeons, who claim Moorish descent, but who are probably a branch of the Croatan Indians, live in primitive simplicity in one of the most isolated sections of the Southern Appalachians, the Newman's Ridge section of Hancock County. This study is under the direction of William E. Cole, University of Tennessee. The field work is being done by Miss Joe Stephen-

¹ These studies are all on file in the Library of the Tennessee Valley Authority at Knoxville, Tennessee.

son Looney, who has lived in the county for ten years. The study is historical and descriptive in nature. An earnest attempt is being made to determine the origin of these interesting people. The study technique is a combination of interviewing, participative observation, and documentation.

Folklore and Folkways in East Tennessee, by William E. Cole and Urban Anderson, of the University of Tennessee, is an attempt to catalogue current folklore and folk practices in East Tennessee. An attempt is made to segregate the data by sections. Since the cultural pattern in this section is changing so rapidly and many of these menti-facts are becoming lost, the investigators felt deeply the need for preserving these contemporary folk practices.

Submarginal Counties in the Southeast, a compilation of basic data compiled under the direction of T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Rupert B. Vance, of the University of North Carolina, contains data on population, occupations, land-use, and education. The study includes data for the submarginal counties within three hundred miles of Muscle Shoals. The data indicate that there are rural slums in the South as depressed and poverty-stricken as the slums in metropolitan areas. These, for the most part, are sections where farmers are struggling to produce on poor lands, under stubborn conditions. Housing is inadequate, and farms are woefully deficient in equipment and livestock. The slum dwellers of the city are likely to have access to up-to-date and efficient municipal services in education, public health, and recreation, but the rural slumdwellers lack the minima of such services, since their poverty is such that the public revenue barely supports the minimum functions of government. The study lends much support to the fact that any program of land plan-

ning should begin with the consideration of the deficiencies and capabilities of these poorer areas and their relationships to other sections.

Isolated Communities and Neighborhoods in the Tennessee Valley, by William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, poses the problem of those communities which have not been integrated into the social and economic system. Through road and topographic maps, county agents, county trustees, and county assessors, seventy such communities in twenty-six counties have been briefly described according to size, location, causes of isolation, factors which hold the people there, quality of people, institutions, industries, and modes of improving conditions. As may be expected in the case of the material gathered, there is great difference in the sort of information one has on each community.

A Study of the Negro Population in the Tennessee Valley Area, under the capable direction of Charles S. Johnson and Horace M. Bond, of Fisk University, has been of great use in locating the problems of the Tennessee Valley area. The study is strongly statistical, being composed of a compilation of available data from the sources, as well as data tabulated by machines from many thousand original schedules collected in 1934.

The first part of the extensive report is devoted to a general analysis of the gross Negro population of the Valley, which is in excess of one million. Another section of the report consists of special studies in Knoxville, Nashville, Kingsport, an industrial town, and three agricultural counties of diverse types. A second volume of the study consists of tables and maps showing the population by race of Tennessee Valley counties, by minor civil divisions. The report observes that the Negro population of the Valley is steadily declining, and in some instances the rural

sections are being depopulated. As a minor objective, the study casts some light on the reasons for this depopulation.

Another section of the report treats in more detail the problems of the urban Negro in Nashville, Knoxville, and Chattanooga. In 300 pages are treated the population changes in these centers, housing, occupations, economic status of families, crime, recreation, schools, the problem of the transient Negro, and social and civic organizations. The last division of the study deals with the special problems of the rural Negro in the Tennessee Valley. Recommendations accompany the study.

Roanoke (Va.) Population and Cultural Characteristics, is a study in preparation under the direction of Frank W. Hoffer, of the University of Virginia. Although Roanoke is out of the drainage area of the Tennessee Valley, the proximity of the city to the area makes it appropriate to say a word concerning the study. This comprehensive work is divided into three major phases. The first division describes the ecology of the city of Roanoke—the spatial distribution of population and institutions and trends in the change of this distribution, suburban expansion, and the development of outlying subcenters. The second part of the study deals with the history and functioning of such institutions as schools, churches, welfare agencies, governmental institutions, business institutions, and many of the institutionalized forms of social life which develop in a community the size of Roanoke. The third division deals with the nature and trend of cultural life. This investigation is preceded by another namely, *The Rise of an Urban Community, A Study of Roanoke, Virginia*.

Social and Economic Statistics of Alabama, prepared under the direction of H. H. Chapman, University of Alabama, is di-

vided into five reports. The first one deals with the people of Alabama—their general characteristics and the conditions under which they live. In this volume are also treated total population trends, degree of urbanization, racial composition, nativity, status, residence, age and sex distribution, family size, school attendance, illiteracy, infant mortality, illegitimacy, mental diseases, crime, home ownership, home appliances, isolation as measured by one factor—good roads. The second report deals with agriculture in Alabama; the third report with mining and mineral products; the fourth report with manufacturing; and the fifth with the financial institutions of Alabama.

A similar report, entitled *Tennessee: A Study in Basic Social Data*, has been prepared under the supervision of William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee. At present it is being used as background material by the state educational commission in its statewide survey of education in Tennessee.

The Alabama Farmer Today, by Olive M. Stone, of the Woman's College of Alabama, attempts to evaluate the social and economic factors influencing the life of the present-day farmer in Alabama, against a background of the historic changes that have taken place in his life from Colonial times to the present. The study places special emphasis upon the Civil War and reconstruction periods. The subjects treated are: the pioneer farmer in territorial days, the feudal society of antebellum days, the Civil War period, the transition or post-war period, the period of farm prosperity, the World War and the farm crisis, and the future of farming in Alabama. Agrarianism and submarginal lands are discussed in connection with the last topic. The study is documentary in nature.

The Problem of the Displaced Tenant Farm

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Family, Nash, Wilson, and Greene Counties, North Carolina, by T. J. Woofter, Jr., Roy M. Brown, and Gordon Blackwell, University of North Carolina, is a study made in 1934, which is gradually being extended to other counties. The case study method is used. The tenant farm family is studied from the point of view of family composition, farming experience, present status as a displaced tenant, and opinions concerning the family as prospects for replacement. At the time the study was made, it was estimated that there were 10,000 displaced tenants unable to obtain farms in eastern North Carolina. A slight trend toward farming by day labor, rather than under the tenant system, is detected. This study has already gone far in shaping the farm relief program in the Southern States.

Public Reaction to State Issues—Education, prepared by Irene M. Strieby, under the direction of T. J. Woofter, Jr., and Harriet L. Herring, University of North Carolina, is one of a series of studies dealing with public reaction to state issues in North Carolina. The volume dealing with education is a chronicle and interpretation of education in North Carolina, as depicted by the newspapers of the state. It is written in a popular vein. The background of the school crisis is related under the heading, "A Sword over Education." Under the caption, "A Fiscal Tornado Hits the Schools," the immediate results of the economy program are presented, although the writer assures the reader that "another generation will have come before the final story can be written." Under "Indexing the Public Pulse," the hysteria of the year 1933 is portrayed. Newspaper cartoons depicting dramatic events in education in the state are used to enliven and explain the text. "Which Way Is Forward" explains the writer's state of mind when she completed the study.

Volume II of the series is entitled *Public*

Reaction to State Issues—The North Carolina General Assembly in Retrospect.

Social Attitudes of High School Seniors, by D. G. Stout, of East Tennessee State Teachers College, and William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, attempts, by means of the Thurston-Chave Attitude Scale on the church, the Thurston-Katz Scale on the law, and a test prepared by Mr. Stout on the home, to measure the attitudes of 1200 high school seniors, in thirty-seven high schools of Tennessee, toward these institutions. The data show a decided lack of integrated unified philosophy on the part of the high school senior toward the church. He exhibits a mixed mass of rather disconnected, loosely organized sentiments toward it. He scarcely knows what value to place on it as an institution. According to the Thurston-Katz scale, 20 per cent of the seniors show indifference toward the law, while 74 per cent have moderate respect for it. No essential difference between boys and girls in their attitudes toward the law is indicated by the tests.

The Effect of Closed Schools on Adolescent Children, prepared under the supervision of Paul Irvine, of the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, is a study of the effect of the shortened term in the high schools of fourteen counties in Alabama during the school year 1932-33. The personal interview was the technique of the study. The interviews were with high school pupils, principals of high schools which had terms of 120 days or less, high school teachers, and sponsors of social organizations in high schools.

The Story of a Small Town Boom, by William E. Cole, attempts—without the aid of pre-boom data, occasioned by a deficiency of records, business failures, and the burning of the county court house—to trace the sudden change of a cultural pattern from rural farm to rural industrial.

The town studied is Elizabethton, Tennessee. Riding on the waves of a depression, it is difficult to determine how many of the tragedies of Elizabethton were due to inflated prices and practices and how many were due to the present economic depression. Elizabethton experienced a boom period from 1926 to 1929. Two great rayon plants were located there. Rural mountain people were brought into the plants as workers. Some of these moved to town, while others remained on the land. The mills were financed by both American and German capital and manned largely by German officials, thus furnishing a fine laboratory within which to study the mountaineer's reaction to the foreigner.

Social Legislation in Tennessee, prepared by unemployed lawyers, under the direction of William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, is an abstract of existing laws pertaining to social legislation in Tennessee, together with an abstract of all supreme court cases and decisions pertaining to the interpretation of these laws.

Progress is now being made on a study to determine the effectiveness of existing social legislation in practice in Tennessee. Based on this study and on the reputed best practices elsewhere, attempts will be made to set up a more effective system of social legislation in the state.

The South—Recreation and Leisure-Time Programs, Facilities, and Opportunities, supervised by Harold D. Meyer of the University of North Carolina, is but partially complete. When completed, the study will contain information on national parks, forests and game preserves, state parks and forests, county parks and playgrounds, municipal parks and playgrounds. Other topics include organizations, agencies, and clubs fostering recreation and leisure-time programs in the South, the church and school program and facilities,

commercial recreation, such as music, dancing, drama, art, and non-commercial handicrafts. The study will end by setting up specific possibilities for future development. Opportunities for research along the lines of recreation and leisure-time programs are specified.

The almshouse population of Tennessee appears to be a "lost tribe of Israel" if the conditions set forth in *Alms Houses and Almshouse Care of the Indigent in Tennessee*, by Cole and Dunford, of the University of Tennessee, depict the true situation. The technique used in the study was personal visitation, plus a filling in of a schedule, and an examination of all laws and supreme court decisions having to do with the care of the indigent in Tennessee. The almshouses of Tennessee receive no state supervision, everything being left to county control. Fifteen counties of the state normally care for their poor through pauper grants; the other eighty counties maintain almshouses. It is rather remarkable that out of 2,685 inmates, 537, or 20 per cent, were committed for insanity. To this percentage should be added another 20 per cent who are classed by their keepers as feeble-minded.

This study lends authority to the statement that the Tennessee almshouse is a place where indigent persons of all stages of mentality, health, age, and outlook upon life, are thrown together without proper care, standards, or local and state supervision. This fact is substantiated by both objective data and case descriptions.

County Jails in Tennessee, a report by William E. Cole, University of Tennessee, contrasts jail conditions and administrative practices in 1934 with those of 1925, the date of a previous study. The technique was visitation plus the filling in of a schedule. The study indicates that there was no marked improvement in jail con-

ditions and administrative practices from 1925 to 1934. Fee-grabbing was as much a problem in 1934 as in 1925. Forty-five per cent of all sheriffs in Tennessee derive all their salaries from fees, while 70 per cent derive part of their salaries from this source.

There is no state supervision of jails in Tennessee. While the food allowance is, in general, seventy-five cents per day per prisoner, many menus examined could not possibly cost more than twenty-five cents per day, thus affording another source of income to sheriff and jailer. The statutes relating to jail administration in Ten-

nessee, as well as supreme court decisions interpreting statutes, are set forth in the study. The statistical data of the study are supplemented by many case studies.

A Study of Housing and the Economic Status of Families in the Low Rent Section of Knoxville, Tennessee, by Cole and Glocker, of the University of Tennessee, has reached the stage where 5,000 schedules have been collected and tabulated. Interpretation and analysis of data are now under way. A similar study has been made in Chattanooga, Tennessee, by the sociology staff of the University of Chattanooga.

SOUTHERN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY ORGANIZED

Announcement of the organization of the Southern Sociological Society comes from the office of Dr. Rupert B. Vance, newly elected secretary-treasurer of the Society:

Of especial interest to sociologists located in the region or investigating its problems will be the organization of the Southern Sociological Society. This was completed at a meeting attended by some thirty-five sociologists at Knoxville, Tennessee, April 20, 1935. A Constitution was adopted and plans were laid for a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in the spring of 1936. Membership is open to those interested in social research and teaching with particular reference to the southern region. Dues for active members are \$2.00 per year.

The following officers were elected: President, E. T. Kreuger, Vanderbilt University; First Vice-President, in charge of research, Wilson Gee, University of Virginia; Second Vice-President, Comer M. Woodward, Emory University; Secretary-Treasurer, Rupert B. Vance, University of North Carolina. The Executive Committee consists of: B. O. Williams, Clemson College; L. M. Bristol, University of Florida; N. B. Bond, University of Mississippi; Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; E. W. Montgomery, University of Kentucky; Edward W. Gregory, University of Alabama; Committee on Membership, H. C. Brearley, Clemson College, Chairman.

OHIO SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The following has been released by Professor S. C. Newman, secretary-treasurer of the Ohio Sociological Society:

The annual meeting of the Ohio Sociological Society was held April 5th and 6th, 1935 at Ohio State University, Columbus. One session was devoted to "The Teaching of High School Sociology," attended by several teachers of high school sociology with an address by one of them, and a report of a committee of the Society which has been studying the matter. In his Presidential address at the annual dinner of the Society, James E. Hagerty, one of the "pioneers" of Sociology in Ohio, gave some of his recollections of early sociologists in the United States.

Other high-lights on the two day program were a paper by Newell L. Sims on "The Sociology of Dictatorship"; an address by E. E. Eubank on his recent visit among outstanding European sociologists; and reports by members on various research projects throughout the state.

The Society, founded in 1925, now has the active participation of most of the ninety-odd sociologists in the colleges of the state.

Officers elected for the year 1935-36 are: James A. Quinn, University of Cincinnati. President; C. B. Gohdes, Capital University, Vice-President; S. C. Newman, Ohio State University, Secretary-Treasurer (re-elected); F. E. Lumley, Ohio State University, Editor of "The Ohio Sociologist" (re-elected).

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RECENT INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES OF SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR SOCIAL WORK*

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AT LEAST four preliminary questions may be raised concerning the implications or interpretation of this topic. They are: (1) what is a social institution; (2) what institutions shall be selected for discussion; (3) what period, in point of time, shall be included; and (4) what is social work. Accordingly, for the purposes of this paper, (1) "Institution" is interpreted to mean definitely and formally organized forms of social activity, partaking of the nature of social habits, systematized and sanctioned by the group;¹ (2) to avoid an encyclopedic range, the discussion is limited to the family, industry, the school, and the state; (3) although most of the changes considered here were manifest before 1929 special attention is given to the past five years, both for new changes, and new rates of earlier changes; (4) the conven-

tional definition of social work as those welfare activities that are organized and in the hands of a vocational group needs to be reinterpreted in terms of its changing clientele, its new interests, and the enlarging conception of its functions.

THE FAMILY

Of the four institutions selected for discussion, the family has been most peculiarly within the province of sociological study, and the changes featuring its recent history have been clearly identified in a number of excellent studies.² Of these changes, five are selected as of particular significance to social work.

1. First, there are certain probable changes in the nature and manifestations of domestic discord. For a number of years prior to the depression, divorce had been increasing about three per cent annually. Since about 1922, the proportion of cases involving children had been in-

*The papers by James H. S. Bossard, Pauline V. Young, and Charles C. Stillman, appearing in this issue, were read before the Section on Sociology and Social Work at the meeting of the American Sociological Society in Chicago in December, 1934. Papers by Ernest B. Harper, Ellery F. Reed, and Grace L. Coyle, also read before this Section, will be published in the October, 1935, *SOCIAL FORCES*.—Editors

¹ Cf. J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929, I, III and XI.

² W. F. Ogburn, in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, Vol. I, Ch. XIII; M. C. Elmer, *Family Adjustment and Social Chance*, Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, 1932; and Ernst Mowrer, *The Family*, University of Chicago Press, 1932.

creasing. Data on desertion did not permit as clear cut an identification of a trend during those years, but most students of desertion, as well as family social workers, agreed that the rate was increasing. Since 1930, both divorce and desertion rates have declined.

How are these changes to be interpreted? From the evidence available at this time, it seems safe to assume that, despite declining divorce and desertion rates, domestic tensions have increased in degree and in prevalence under the impact of the economic and social changes of the last few years. Certainly, other manifestations of domestic maladjustment have increased during this time. Illegitimacy has increased, for reasons which are obvious. Various large agencies report an increase in cases of cruelty and abuse, especially sex cases involving younger girls. A relative growth in the number of incest cases also is reported, due in the main to overcrowding and to the presence of unemployed men and older boys at home. In other words, we seem to be getting an increased number of cases in which there is serious domestic maladjustment, but where there is not the radical therapy of divorce or desertion.

The implications of such cases for social work seem clear. They create a demand for newer types of family social work; for marriage clinics or councils, for birth control clinics, for family relations courts, and for family societies interested in the adjustment of the relations of the members of the family to each other. The newer family social services emphasize adjustment, guidance, and prevention, rather than merely economic aid and rehabilitation.

2. Another clearly defined change is the increasing employment, outside of the home, of married women. In 1900, 5.6 per cent of all married women were gain-

fully employed; in 1930, the percentage was 11.7, or one out of nine. There is considerable reason to believe that the percentage has increased since 1930. In an increasing proportion of cases since 1930, the employment of the wife has been coupled with the unemployment of the husband, thus making for a complete reversal of the ordinary relationships. In the larger cities, the percentage is much higher than elsewhere.

Many of these married women are carrying a double burden, physically and nervously, with a consequent increased irritability and tension. This stands revealed at a time when psychiatry is giving us a new insight into the meaning for children of the psychic atmosphere of the home. There is a resultant increased demand for day nursery service, birth control clinics, and various pre-school developments. Particularly must the day nurseries re-examine their work, in view of the fact that the cost of care per child per day for nursery service approximates and at times exceeds the earnings per day of the mothers employed.

3. Of all recent changes in the family, the one most capable of objective verification is the decline in its size. This trend, first revealed in families at the higher socio-economic levels, is now manifesting itself in all classes of the population. Whatever other factors may be involved, there is general agreement that the decline represents a conscious and deliberate limitation by parents of the number of children in order to control the circumstances and conditions of family life as affected by the number of its members. This has significance for social work in at least four ways. First, it has created a definite need for birth control clinics where reputable medical men may give instruction in approved techniques directed toward this end. The need is widespread throughout

the population, and is particularly keen among less privileged but self-supporting families.

Consideration of the needs of this element leads in turn to the problem of the one-sixth of American families now on relief. Studies in scattered areas in the United States³ show that the birth rate among families who have been on relief for more than a year is from 50 to 60 per cent higher than among families of similar class not on relief. This, in particular, raises a pointed question for social work. When the great mass of self-supporting families are limiting their size, will they consent indefinitely to an unlimited multiplication among those maintained at public expense?

Second, the declining size of the family is intensifying problems in the care of the aged. Throughout the centuries, large families have been desired as a form of old age insurance, and until recently, the protection of the old members of the family was rendered almost exclusively by their offspring. Today, smaller families, coupled with the increasing mobility of its members, is reducing this historic guarantee.

In the third place, the smaller family is introducing new elements in the personality development of children and in parent-child relationships. There is reason to think that the psychological weaning of children is delayed, with a resulting increase of personality problems for children and parents. The shortness of the child-

bearing period, coupled with the lightening of household burdens, raises many problems also for mothers, which have their relation to unemployment, mental hygiene, domestic discord, and the like.

Finally, special reference should be made to the increase of childless marriages. There is data to show that the presence of children is an important factor in holding the family together. Homes without children are special type homes. The responsibilities of mates are to each other. While such homes undoubtedly have their own peculiar problems, these have not been as yet seriously studied.

4. A fourth change involving the family should be mentioned at this point. This is the increased territorial mobility of families, particularly at the lower socioeconomic levels. Mobility of population is, to be sure, no new phenomenon. It has been relatively extensive throughout our national history. Its marked increase since the World War has been generally noted, as was also a growing appreciation of its sociological significance. Since 1929, two fundamental changes occurred: one, an increase in volume; the other, a change in the type of persons moving about. Of this present migratory army, transient families form a specialized phase. Some of these are families of skilled workers looking for employment; some are unskilled, shifting from one seasonal job to another; some are dependents, exploiting relief resources in successive communities. Within the past year, higher relief grants in the North have attracted many Negroes from the South. Truckloads of such families have poured into cities of the North and East. For families of one culture to be uprooted from their social setting and to be literally dumped overnight in another cultural setting, with social workers unequipped to deal with these new cul-

³ Samuel A. Stouffer, "The Fertility of Families on Relief," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, September, 1934, pp. 295-301; Paul Popenoe and Ellen M. Williams, "Fecundity of Families Dependent on Public Charity," *The American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1934, p. 214; Edgar Sydenstricker and G. Perrott, "Sickness, Unemployment, and Differential Fertility," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XII, No. 2, April, 1934, pp. 1-8.

tural types, has created a particularly difficult problem for social work in certain parts of the country.

5. Looking to the future, both of the family and of social work, the most significant change in the former involves the development of its newer functions. Over against the decline of the home as a unit in economic production is its growing importance as a consumption unit. The goods and services necessary for family life, formerly so largely produced within it, must now be purchased on the outside. Moreover, rising planes of living and the growing diversity of consumers' goods magnify the consumption function of the family. Not only do families consume more than formerly, but there is an ever widening choice of goods to be consumed. What gives significance to this point is the increasing emphasis upon rational consumption as a factor in the positive promotion of well-being. Science has been adventuring into the minutiae of everyday living, and, after discounting in liberal proportions the bizarre exaggerations of modern advertising, there is a substantial residue of facts upon which to make rational consumption choices. Food, for example, is being less thought of in terms of a traditional menu to be consumed as a matter of habit and necessity. Increasingly, the intelligent modern housewife recognizes in the selection and combination of foods a factor of great importance in the health, happiness, and efficiency of the members of the family. Here, in other words, are new duties, new responsibilities, and new functions, the importance of which is even now but dimly recognized, but which may have great significance for social work when it takes to pioneering again.

Similar has been the change in regard to the protective agencies of the family. With the development of various special-

ized agencies, chiefly public, the older protective services of the family to its members are rapidly passing. In their stead has come the development of new functions of a semi-protective, semi-directive nature. These have come, chiefly in answer to the change in the nature of the dangers against which protection is needed. Now, instead of physical force, there is needed keen judgment; instead of brute strength, there must be wise counsel; instead of regulation, the demand is for instruction; and suggestion comes to replace compulsion. Leadership in the modern family calls for the tactful management of its members in relation to the diverse opportunities and the specialized resources now open to them. In other words, the range of contacts of the members of the typical present day family, and the selection and combination of these into the individual pattern, call for family services no less important, even if somewhat less overt, than those inherent in the earlier protective rôle of the family.

It would be possible to show similar changes from old to new in the educational and recreational functions of the family. Enough has been said to make clear the significance of this part of the discussion for social work. In the development of these new functions, the family wants and needs help. For many families, such help, if it is to be given, must come from social agencies. This means new social work agencies, or old ones, with new emphases. Speaking generally, these changes demand a type of social work which emphasizes guidance to the many rather than aid to the few, prevention through constructive helpfulness to a large number of families rather than amelioration to a distressed five per cent. Concretely, nutrition agencies will have to change their program from one emphasizing the feeding of poor children to an edu-

cational service in food values for a large number of families. The change is illustrated in the field of children's work, with the shift in emphasis from Juvenile Courts to Child Guidance clinics. Other examples, mostly in their incipient stages, will readily suggest themselves.

INDUSTRY

The economic is so important an aspect of our lives, and so marked have been the scope and rapidity of economic change since the outbreak of the World War that our task of selection here becomes doubly difficult. Virtually every phase of our economic life has changed, and most economic changes have some implications for social work. Somewhat arbitrarily, then, eight recent changes in industry, considered as particularly significant for social work, are selected for brief discussion.

1. Since 1929, there has been a marked decline in the profits made in industry. This has dried up correspondingly the sources of financial support for social work, particularly for private social work. This has created a situation sharply different from that of the preceding two decades. During and after the World War, "with national war-chest drives, home-service relief, the beginnings of the whole financial chest movement, we had money enough to do things for people, to get things for people—to fix up their teeth, to introduce new baby carriages into neighborhoods where they had never been seen before. . . . Under the influence of a supposed surplus we rediscovered personality as a profession and as a people. . . . We likewise discovered health. A lot of things our pioneering social-work fathers recommended began to come to pass.⁴

⁴ J. Prentice Murphy, "Certain Philosophical Contributions to Children's Case Work," in *Proceedings*, National Conference of Social Work, 1933. University of Chicago Press, 1933, p. 77.

Since 1929, financial pressure has been compelling some sharp readjustments in private social work. How much of it can continue? What types shall survive?

2. One of the outstanding recent changes in industry has been the increase in the productivity per worker. From 1919 to 1927, production increased 46.5 per cent in our manufacturing industries, with a decrease of 2.9 per cent in the number of wage earners. This fact, together with its significance for unemployment, has been greatly emphasized in the literature of recent years. There seems to be somewhat less awareness of the fact that this trend has been continuing to a marked extent since 1927, and, be it noted, since 1929. Efforts made during the depression period to increase wages and to curtail hours of work have stimulated this trend. Technological development in industry, plus the depletion of natural resources, the obsolescence of industry, and the regulated production of agricultural commodities, (all of which might be discussed separately as distinct economic changes) have combined to create our so-called stranded families, i.e., families who have but slight chance of being re-employed in their present environment and at their old jobs. It is estimated that these families constitute one half of our present relief load.

It is obvious that no one will advocate the indefinite extension of direct relief to this large number of families. It is equally clear that traditional forms of social work will not suffice to meet their problems. All the circumstances point to a broad constructive social program which will aim at the provision of decent living conditions through the development of opportunities for them to become again self sustaining members of society. This clearly involves mass rehabilitation through governmental social action, or social work.

3. Under consumption has been greatly emphasized as a socio-economic problem in recent years. Plans to stimulate or to expand it quickly lead to the discovery that any appreciable results in this direction must come from the consumption of new utilities rather than the increased consumption of traditional ones. This suggests, among others, the possibility of expanding social services of various kinds. This, in particular, is significant for social work.

4. The shift in the location of industries, and consequently of population, from one part of the country to another is a change of special importance in this connection. When industries, for example, leave Rhode Island and move to a southern state, it creates problems in both places. While home and real estate values boom in Tennessee, they shrink in Rhode Island. Too few schools in the growing southern community, too few social work agencies and facilities, and the like are complementary to too many in Rhode Island. Then, too, there are all the problems associated with the mobility of population and occupational readjustment.

5. It is but necessary to refer to the virtual elimination of child labor. According to the federal census, the percentage of children between 10 and 15 years gainfully employed dropped from 18.2 in 1900 to 4.7 in 1930. What public sentiment was accomplishing by slow stages was brought to a dramatic conclusion during the past year by the NRA codes. Enthusiastically as the change has been hailed, there has been considerably less appreciation of the problems which this creates—problems of school facilities, of recreational needs, of effects on family income and expenditures, of tasks for character-building agencies, and the like.

6. Parallel with this tightening of the line for employment at the beginning of

the working span, how much of a similar development is occurring at the other end? In other words, is it true that industry is increasingly shelving in one way or another employees at the other end, say at 40 or at 45 years? Evidence on this point is far from complete, but there is considerable reason to believe that enforced retirement in industry after 40 is on the increase. With old age insurance plans beginning their operation at 70 years, and with the marked increase of elders in the population, there is little reason to doubt a growth in the number of younger aged poor.

7. Another recent change of fundamental importance to social work has been the increased sifting of those employed, and consequently of those unemployed. Reference is intended to the selective processes by which, in an increasing number of occupations, those who have jobs are the relatively intelligent, efficient and dependable, while those who are unemployed are of lesser competence.

There have been in recent years at least two phases of this selective process. First, unemployment is a selective process. It leads to discrimination against marginal workers. It will be recalled, in this connection, that unemployment was increasing to a marked extent in the years immediately before 1929, so that this process has been going on, steadily and in increasing measure for more than a decade. The second phase of this selective process has been the increasing development of personnel departments in industry which, through objective tests, have weeded out for a number of years those least competent among their employees.

It is easy to cite certain large scale objections to this contention, especially in certain specialized occupations in the durable goods field. By and large, however, there can be no denial of some operation

of these selective processes; and with the depression entering its sixth year, there has been ample time for its considerable extension. It is this factor which has intensified the difficulties of dealing with a substantial proportion of the unemployed, and which has created grave misgivings among careful students concerning their future, their re-employability, and the duration of their relief needs.⁵

8. Curtailment of the hours of labor of those employed is resulting in a far greater extent of leisure than workers in historic times have known. This increased leisure is a distinct challenge—to social workers as well as to various other groups. How much help and guidance can be given in the utilization of this leisure time? What social work programs are involved? What new types and emphases of social work are required? Does this create any special demand for group social work and a development of its technique to correspond to the progress in case work technique? What is the significance of the fact that the home workshop movement now approaches a membership of a million, or that museums and scientific exhibits are literally swamped with paying visitors? The NRA codes, together with pending federal legislation, sharply thrusts this problem into the foreground of social work planning.

EDUCATION

Educational institutions by their very nature represent some of the most advanced aspects of our group life. Particularly in this so to the extent that they serve their true function. Changes in these institutions, especially during a period of crisis, naturally are of great significance to social work. Four recent changes are summarized here.

⁵Cf. James H. S. Bossard, *Social Change and Social Problems*, Harper and Brothers, 1934, pp. 718-719.

(1) The rise in standards of compulsory attendance, until today 41 out of the 48 states have placed the minimum at or above 16 years.

(2) As a result of this rise, together with the decline in child labor, there has been a tremendous increase in public school enrollments. From 1900 to 1930, while population increased 62 per cent, secondary school enrollments increased 652 per cent. It is necessary but to refer to the increased economic pressure of these changes upon the parents who must maintain these children as non-producers; the increase in school taxes; the creation of truancy and compulsory attendance problems; and the multiplication of behavior difficulties of many kinds.

(3) The increased specialization in education in recent years is well known. Has this had the effect, both through the skills and attitudes cultivated, of decreasing occupational mobility, and thus increasing, or at least complicating, unemployment problems?

(4) There has been an obvious and marked broadening out in recent years in the school program, resulting in the rendition by the school to the child of many services which in the past were not conceived of as a part of the school's functions. Within the past twenty years, the school has rendered health service, dental care, nutritional aid and guidance, and many other services ordinarily conceived of as part of or kin to social work. Children have become accustomed to such services, and at no cost to the individual family. How much does this lead to the demand for similar and other services, on a similar basis, after they leave school?

The past five years have been a critical period for American education. Many American communities are in serious financial difficulties. Thanks to the prevailing policy in public finance of discounting the

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future on all kinds of pretexts, they are heavily in debt. Meanwhile, their incomes have been reduced; their credit impaired. In 1933, 259 school districts in 29 states defaulted on their bonds. When it is recalled that American cities spend from 30 to 50 per cent of their revenue on education, and that the proportion in many rural communities is even higher, it is easy to appreciate the existing challenge to public education. Certain direct effects upon social work may be noted.

1. Large scale unemployment among teachers. In 1933, 25,000 teachers were dropped, and 200,000 certified teachers were unemployed. The unemployed teachers represent a new type of relief case, an element among the new poor. Their problem is important, then, for social work, both on the basis of numbers and of uniqueness of case.

2. The low pay of teachers. One out of three teachers is now working for less than the "blanket code" minimum for unskilled labor. Since planes of living are relative, here is another source for recruits to the new poor.

3. One hundred thousand children are denied all educational opportunities because of closing schools, and abbreviated school terms will put at least one million other children on learning rations close to the level of mental starvation. If education is anywhere near as necessary for the earning of a livelihood in our complex social order as we have been taught to believe, then these children manifestly are being handicapped in a way that means many problems for social work in the years ahead.

4. One out of every two cities has been compelled to drop some important school service. Many careful students doubt whether it will be financially possible to restore these, or to maintain those now continuing. If these services have been

as important as past students have indicated, what will be the social cost of their elimination?

5. Finally, there is to be faced the competition between schools and the social work agencies for financial support. These two groups are two of the outstanding claimants for local and state moneys. Financial pressure is crippling the work of the schools. This would seem to increase the need for social work, particularly private social work. Yet funds here are being curtailed. It is a vicious circle. Does the situation create a demand for more socially constructive and financially economical types of social work?

THE STATE

The changes in government are perhaps as clearly defined as any of our recent institutional changes. They have been identified and described in recent studies.⁶ The more fundamental and significant of these changes for social work are five in number.

1. There has been an unmistakable expansion in the functions of government.⁷ Attention is directed to two phases of this change. One has been the extension of the old traditional protective function of the state to new fields. Just as the state has always protected the life and property of its citizens, so now this protective function is involved increasingly against the hazards of our socio-economic system. For some years, now, the individual has found himself increasingly in a position of relative helplessness in the face of a rapidly changing and chaotic industrial order, and for protection against such hazards as accident, sickness, unemployment

⁶ Cf. Carroll H. Woody, "The Growth of Governmental Functions," and C. E. Merriam, "Government and Society," in *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, Vol. II, Chs. XXV and XXIX.

⁷ Woody, *op. cit.*

and the like, he has turned more and more to the Government. A second phase of the change in the functions of government has been the growing insistence upon, and practice of rendering, certain positive services on a gratuitous basis. This, of course, is at complete variance with the older conception that the government existed to protect its people against foreign invasion, domestic enemies, to maintain order and some of the more important of the rules of the game of human living together.

The two phases just referred to are but part of a much larger change involving the functions of political institutions. The tendency toward a totalitarian conception of the state, so marked in Italy and in other European countries, is crystallizing in this country, and, in the past decade, has grown with striking rapidity.

2. There has been a marked increase in the extent and respectability of governmental administrative service. The older conception of good government emphasized the importance of general enactments and the minimum of powers and personnel of administration. Furthermore, it was not deemed necessary for this personnel to have any special qualifications. Anyone could do governmental work. Politics and public service have not been a career in our national past. The change in the functions of government in recent years involved, first, a marked increase of administrative duties, and, second an increase of administrative personnel. The personnel in the civil departments of the federal government doubled between 1915 and 1930. This increase, however, was but a prelude to the growth occasioned by the alphabetocracy which has emerged since March 4, 1933.

But the most important aspect of the change in the administrative part of the government has been the change of attitude toward it. Administrative or public

service is now becoming a respectable calling, perhaps even a profession. Engineers, social workers, university professors are entering it, without making apologies. The building up of traditions of public service has begun in this country. Bureaus of Municipal and of Social Research, who used to devote their efforts to attack and to expose the incompetence and dishonesty of public officials, are now devoting their efforts to aid the new personnel discharge its duties more intelligently and efficiently.

It is evident that this change regarding administrative service is of the greatest significance for social work. Many of the most dramatic evidences of this change are reflected in the new public social work now so rapidly developing.

3. There has been a growing centralization of governmental power and activity. Merriam, surveying the changes from 1900 to 1930, points out⁸ "the continuing centralization of power both in the national government at the expense of the states and in the states at the expense of the localities, especially the rural communities." The explanation for this, offered by Woody is that "despite the resistance offered by constitutional and statutory barriers and by traditional modes of thought, governmental powers tend to flow toward agencies which demonstrate their capacity to deal with those social issues demanding the intervention of government. The shifts from state to federal authority thus reflect the incapacity of the several states to deal with problems [concerning] vital aspects of social and economic life. On the other hand, the performance of local governing bodies, save in notable instances, the cities, has been increasingly unsatisfactory."⁹

⁸ *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, II, p. 1534.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1294.

4. An increasing demand for greater efficiency in government. The key to much of the ferment and many of the changes in recent political life is the demand for greater efficiency in government at less cost. Political leaders are increasingly being put on the spot by their constituents. Among the results there stand out an increased emphasis upon governmental research, the recruiting of brain trusts, and the conduct of political experiments. Faced with the dilemma of increased responsibilities and lessened budgets, politicians are turning to social scientists even while they inveigh against the brain trust. It is not a wholly bizarre prophecy to say that the social scientists in the public service are destined to play the rôle in public life in the next generation that natural scientists in the employ of big business have played during the past one.

5. It seems pertinent to raise the question as to what extent ill-advised socioeconomic planning will affect changes significant for social work. Is it true that plowing under cotton crops in Georgia, by increasing unemployment among cotton hands, has increased unduly the relief load in that state? Is it true that the marginal lands withdrawn from private occupation are the very type of land to which surplus city populations would ordinarily go, so that again the burdens of unemployment and relief in large cities are unduly maintained by this planning project? Is it true that flat rates of compensation for CWA workers, established by administrative order, were relatively higher in certain communities than rates of compensation in the ordinary business life of the community?

SUMMARY

By way of summary, the changes indicated in the foregoing discussion seem to

carry four rather distinct implications for social work.

1. An increasing drift toward public social work, conceived in terms of broad national and regional rather than local areas. Recent institutional changes favor this trend.¹⁰ The resources of private social agencies have faltered under the impact of rising needs, now at flood tide. Public social work accords with the contemporary conception of the functions of government. The great mass of the people conceive of social work services as a right that ought to be given by government rather than as a favor financed by the fortunate few.

2. The tendency toward a broader conception of social work, i.e., in terms of a larger proportion of the population. Why should social work be confined to a selected unfortunate few, when a broad conception of social helpfulness so clearly involves the wholly pertinent problems of the many. Properly conceived, the boundary lines of social work are set by human need, and both democratic philosophy and common sense oppose an interpretation of human need in terms of the conspicuously unfortunate.

3. The present sociological set-up, resultant of recent institutional changes, points four square toward a social work that is essentially preventive and constructive. The nature and scope of current needs, the possibilities inherent in public social work, the demand for more effective and efficient service, and the pinch of social problems on the pocket book of the man on the street, all combine to emphasize newer types of social work conceived on preventive bases.

Six years ago, I voiced a demand for

¹⁰ For details and implications of this development, see the author's *Social Change and Social Problems*, Harper & Brothers, 1934, Chs. XXX, XXXI and XXXII.

more consideration of social work directed toward these ends, and sought to justify the demand on the bases of financial economy.¹¹ It was contended that money spent for social welfare purposes should be considered as an investment and planned as such, rather than as an item of necessary wastage or loss. Speaking in terms of dollars, constructive welfare work represents a forward looking investment; custodial care, the dead loss of an unremunerative carrying charge. There ought to be developed a bookkeeping of our social experiences, involving a rather careful accounting of the costs and results of our social policies. We may yet develop a real science of social economy.

It seems clear that social work is under very great pressure, due on the one hand to changes increasing the need for it; and, on the other, to dwindling financial resources available for its support. The implications of this situation are apparent. The domination of the case worker must

give way to that of the group worker. Cheaper social work must develop, i.e., social work yielding larger social returns per unit of expenditure.

4. Finally, current social situations call for a recurrence of pioneering in private social work. "The pioneering spirit in social work has given us some of our great crusaders."¹² In recent years, however, this pioneering spirit has been somewhat less conspicuous. The emphasis rather has been that of building a structure upon the foundations laid by the earlier pioneers. Now that one era of social work has ended and another is emerging, will social workers go pioneering again, visualizing new needs, discovering new "no-man's lands" of social endeavor, dreaming new dreams, developing new methods and techniques? Their answer, forged in the furnace of the daring and experience of tomorrow—and yet more tomorrows: this will be the future of social work.

¹¹ James H. S. Bossard, "Speaking in Terms of Dollars," *Social Forces*, March, 1919, pp. 389-98.

¹² Porter R. Lee, "Social Workers: Pioneers Again," *The Survey*, September, 1933, p. 307.

RECENT CHANGES IN POPULAR OPINION AND ATTITUDE OF INTEREST TO SOCIAL WORK

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FROM contacts within the last three years with some two thousand new poor in California, both in industrial centers and in rural districts, it is increasingly evident that it is too early, as yet, to speak of clearly discernible trends in popular opinion and sentiments. It is evident also that we are still in the preliminary stages of the social changes which the economic depression has precipitated, that social unrest and confusion of counsel still prevail, a situation in which a number of

widely divergent movements may have their origin, given appropriate guidance and leadership. This formative period in popular opinion is of great significance to social work leaders who would plan for the immediate or more distant future.

GROWING INTEREST IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The masses of the people in the last few years of tension and unrest have begun to observe more closely the effects upon their

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lives of governmental policies and administrative procedures, and to take an active personal interest in proposed reforms. However, they have not readily aligned themselves with the traditional political parties, but rather have attempted to organize themselves and to seek for new leaders. Their efforts range all the way from the attempts of small groups of individuals to solve their immediate problems by their own initiative and resourcefulness, as through self-help coöperatives and exchange clubs, up to great popular movements organized for mass action and revolt with nation-wide schemes of economic and social reform. Already three sizable popular movements have developed in California: the Townsend old-age pension scheme, the Utopian movement, and the EPIC plan.

It has been the tendency among social workers, however, to minimize the significance of these efforts, to fail to capitalize upon the enthusiasm and energy of the masses and to overlook the democratic character of such movements. Social workers on the whole have not entered into these popular struggles with either proposals, leadership, or expert assistance.

A statement by an ex-newspaper editor, widely read in the field of the social sciences, is perhaps typical of the reactions of the more educated groups of the white collar men to social work activities:

Social workers attempt to gain power over the unemployed and unfortunate masses without recognition of the powers inherent in these masses. Therefore, social work has no truly effective existence; there is lack of sympathy, of understanding, of mutual coöperation and thus they lack power over the very people who need help. Social workers are really not in contact with the real essentials of human life; they touch the externals only. Clearly, if social workers are to make any considerable contribution to the solution of present social problems, they need to understand the character of present popular attitudes and trends of thought.

PAUPERIZATION OF THE NEW POOR

Since honest, industrious, employable men and women must now be aided by direct relief or work relief, it is necessary to discard the earlier, frequently rough "deterrent" treatment of so-called paupers and to make it "easy for the new poor to apply for relief and to receive it, and even easy to complain about it." Social work has approached this new clientele generally without any formulated philosophy of emergency relief, and with few sound principles of case work applicable to its special needs. Already emergency relief procedure is developing certain folkways and *mores* among the new poor with reference to charity which are apt to demoralize the recipients. We see here the earlier stages of the process traditionally spoken of as pauperization. These changes of attitude can now be noted as they slowly and subtly, but persistently pervade the ranks even of the most self-respecting citizens who now find themselves in the ranks of the relieved.

... I'm not ashamed any more at being in the fix I am, without work and without prospect of any. I was a little at first.

When I "signed up" and applied for relief, I believe I blushed. And when the first box of groceries came, I was fearful lest the neighbors should know about it. But that feeling has gone now. I realize that I am in the same boat as millions of others in America.¹

... At first these families talked to us in whispers, insisted on having the door tightly shut when they told their stories. But just wait a few weeks. If their check is a day late, they come storming into the office demanding an explanation for the delay. We have pauperized these people. They are bewildered by their insecurity and by our inability to understand their emotional upheavals.²

¹ San Francisco Chronicle, "New Poor Find Kindliness, Efficiency in Charities' Care for the Destitute" (March 9, 1932).

² Statement by a Social Work executive.

"INSURANCE ATTITUDE"

A widespread attitude has arisen in many sections of the affected population, which may be characterized as "the insurance conception of government." These people are now saying on everyhand: "We have been taxpayers in this community for many years, why not let *them* help us." They are not wholly clear what is meant by "them" but the notion is deeply rooted that no longer are there sufficient opportunities for pioneering spirits, or even for resourceful individuals, but that dependence is almost inevitable under the arrangements of the present economic order. Under such circumstances there is nothing left for them to do, they naively reason, but to draw on the taxes they have previously been compelled to pay into the public treasury. Many have come to the conclusion that the government can and should be expected to gather funds, in whatever way it will, to meet the needs of the helpless, aged, unemployed or incapacitated out of reserve funds; that is, "insurance" is a proper necessary governmental function.

As the depression continues, we find fewer and fewer people who believe that those without jobs and sources of income are individually at fault. Many were startled to discover that in effect, the State was prepared to assume the long time care of chronic dependents and defectives who may have never contributed to the common weal, but that the State was not prepared to assist the law-abiding, industrious and honest, able-bodied tax-payer when economic disaster befell him and his resources were exhausted unless he join "the charity line." That was a blow to self-respect that many were not prepared to take.

Closely associated with a critical attitude regarding the shortcomings of gov-

ernment in this matter is a feeling of the meaninglessness and uselessness of thrift, education, technical skill, of a life of strict observance of the precepts of religion and morals and of the practice of the economic virtues of Benjamin Franklin and the copy-books. Hundreds of thousands—without any personal shortcomings of which they are aware—find themselves now plunged almost over night to the bottom of the economic scale, to the status of a relief case.

My boy says to me every time I talk to him about thrift and a good clean life: "You and Dad have lived the most decent, hard working lives of any people I know and what have you got to show for it? Honesty and decency don't pay. If anybody deserved a break, you and Dad did. You deprived yourself of many things to see us through school and now you have to beg for every mouthful of food we eat. No, I am going to enjoy life. . . ."

And what's the good of a trade? They tie your hands behind you and you have nothing to say, nothing to fall back on. . . .

And look at my Dad! He worked and saved, and never drank or gambled. Where is he now? Digging ditches which shouldn't be dug, or pulling weeds which grow back under his very eyes. He wanted to bring us up to live useful lives and we watch him waste himself away at useless tasks. . . .

Never again will I save my money. Live while you can. I watched my friends who were brought up on thrift. Some of them lost all they had in savings banks, some in real estate investments, some in the stock markets, others in business, and now they are talking about inflation. There are no other ways in which you can lose money.

Many persons are beginning to realize that they cannot foresee and cannot protect themselves against hazards which they meet in the present social-economic order. There are many of the new poor who resent the fact that welfare agencies have taken over the complex problem of unemployment relief, a responsibility which more properly belongs in the field of industrial management and economic statesmanship. These people point out the fact that in spite of the enormous in-

creases in relief expenditures, in spite of the strenuous efforts of relief agencies, they have not been able to keep pace with growing needs, they have not been able to stem the rising tide of idleness, demoralization, and eventual unemployability which follows in the wake of the depression. "There should be no charity," they cry, "just work."

They try to tell you that SERA is not charity, but they have red tape, social workers, face sheets, records, budgets, relief plans, and above all the attitude is the same, at least we feel it is. . . . The willing but idle breadwinners should live on insurance.

The social soil seems ready for a system of unemployment insurance. Because of the severe economic crisis and serious social disorganization much attention has been devoted to plans which might in the future eliminate unemployment hazards. Though this is hardly a time for the creation of adequate reserve funds, action is urged while suffering is rampant.

The new poor resent the fact that SERA's and FERA's have largely concerned themselves with "stop-gaps," "temporizing procedures" which tend to decrease the possibilities for energetic reform by industry itself or by the government. Industry, they insist, has been largely absolved from taking responsibility for what is in reality its own problem. Men still in their prime are discarded never to return to their occupations, and to suffer want in the midst of plenty. In simple justice, they point out, men must be pensioned for the rest of their days, men who have helped to create the vast surpluses and the wealth of the nation. The following is a summary of popular opinion and attitudes expressed at the hearings of the California State Unemployment Commission.

Emergency unemployment relief, however ample it may be and whatever form it may take, is a hand-

to-mouth makeshift to supply, temporarily, food, clothing and shelter to those who are in need of aid because of unemployment.

Spreading work merely divides, among a larger number, the work that is available, taking part of the work from some in order that a larger group may participate in the earnings.

Unemployment reserves and compensation provides for a much better and more dignified form of unemployment relief than we now have, and furnishes an incentive towards stabilization of employment. It may also have the effect of restraining undue expansion during years of active industry and thereby hold in check the cumulative economic forces which bring on periods of widespread unemployment. A system of unemployment reserves and compensation cannot, however, be relied upon to provide more employment opportunities. . . .

It is evident that something more must be done. With warehouses and stores filled with goods that the owners cannot sell, the State is confronted with untold thousands of its citizens suffering for the barest necessities of life. While men and women and children go shelterless, . . . dwellings stand vacant for want of tenants and many owners themselves join the ranks of those who must appeal for public aid. . . .

Reduced to its lowest terms, the problem is simple enough. We have more than enough of everything; while hundreds of thousands (millions in the nation) are not getting what they need and what they ought to have. The consensus of thoughtful and informed opinion is, that the basic cause of this intolerable condition is the lack of balance between production and consumption. We know, too, that the solution of the problem is steady employment for every one. We think that this is the time to take the first step.

The depression has brought home to every one the necessity for combined and persistent effort to cure the evil of unemployment. It has shown to employers and labor alike the need for coöperation to that end. Every element of the community is ready to help.

Industry, however willing it may be, cannot, unaided, solve the problem. Under our *competitive* system the first objective of every industry, as of every individual, must be to take care of itself. But it is as essential to the welfare of each industry, as it is to each individual, that all the others should prosper.³

These words summarize very precisely the attitudes of numberless unemployed and new poor. They reflect also Sir Wil-

³ *Report and Recommendations of the California State Unemployment Commission* (1932), 81-82.

liam Beveridge's words: "The problem of unemployment is insoluble by mere expenditures of public money. It needs not money so much as thought and organization."

It is generally recognized that the problem is no longer a matter of satisfying the mere physical needs, that a "hunger-march" is no longer a march of hungry people, but a group who demand also the satisfaction of their social wishes, the protection of the democratic principles of government, the creation of broader principles of industrial and social justice and the sharing of an ever increasing fund of common cultural values.

UNEMPLOYED COÖPERATIVES

Certain sections of the industrial workers have learned by first hand experience the power of corporate action. The unemployed coöperatives are a direct adaptation of the basic principles of the modern industrial corporation simplified and modified so that men without capital can enjoy some of the advantages of an organization built upon occupational specialization, industrial regimentation, exchange of products in the market place and mutual responsibility. While the members of the unemployed coöperatives have suffered various internal struggles, conflicts, "politics," and though they have been lured away from their earlier goals by the cash made available through CWA and later SERA, their experiences in organization and in the management of their own enterprises have left them with the feeling that there is much power, initiative, resourcefulness in their own ranks, the value of which has never been sufficiently realized by themselves let alone by social workers.

Those who have banded together by common needs and interests have discovered that industrial democracy—even

though in very crude form—is more deeply rooted and more genuinely satisfying in their *own* self-help organizations than in the experiments sprung from the brains of "enlightened industrialists." They have directly faced the problems of modern industry and of the community and in their coöperatives have themselves attempted their solution. Out of that experience is coming self-discipline and self-consciousness and a salutary respect for leadership.

These people are tiring of "the interlocking directorate of social and economic institutions" which have assumed control over their bodies and souls. They now are beginning to enjoy their ability to have a direct voice in matters of importance to the group. They have gained new status and even take pride in such conditions as "living without cash and also without charity." There has been comparatively little loafing in the coöperatives and much of loyalty and voluntary coöperation. As conflict groups, the coöperatives have developed a higher type of personality and a more self-disciplined order of life. As long as these people struggled for a cause and were motivated by a crusaders' psychology they were intellectually stimulated and alive to vital common problems.

The unemployed workers are also developing a consumers' psychology as opposed to the earlier producers' psychology. "Production for use" is not merely a political slogan to them, but a way of living from day to day. Labor is less a matter to them of wages in dollars and cents and more a matter of food, housing, clothing, and other consumable goods.

The workers who had had the opportunity for concerted action of some sort were perhaps among the first to grasp the "New Deal" philosophy as a philosophy of collectivism; not as thorough-going as

in Russia, but a scheme for placing definite limitations upon the responsibility of individuals for their own security, rather than an attempt to restrict the scope of action of the individualist. Coöperation, they say, is a new thing and can be learned only by living it.

NEW AMERICAN FRONTIERS

There is a large number of people in cities who have—at least for the time being—given up looking for their security in the more permanent program of social insurance, in the concerted actions of the unemployed coöperative enterprises, in the emergency relief programs, and have set out with a venturing mood, a spirit of rugged individualism in search for new frontiers. There is a swelling tide of people returning to the land. However, the hope for wealth, power, dominance, does not seem to characterize these new adventurers, those industrial urbanites. They seek success, but success is coming to be defined for them in different terms from that of the past:

I came from Napa, California, and have worked at any trade I could get. No, I never was a farmer but I've been about everything else. Mostly I worked on motor-boats. But since the depression there ain't no work. We did towing work when we could get any. But things got so bad that we couldn't pay the rent. The landlord said that we could stay but I couldn't see how we were ever going to get any better. No, we haven't any children, now, they are all married and can just manage to get along without us coming in on them. . . .

Just look at my place. The wife has only been here for two months but I been working here close to a year now. And I mean real work, too. I'd get up here at 4 o'clock in the morning and work until dark every day. I lost 40 pounds but it sure is worth it. Do you know how much this place cost me? Well, exactly \$17. I know it is hard to believe but I'll show you how I did it.

I never had a dime when I heard that there was a chance to get this free land if you cleared it and built a home. That was just the chance that I was looking for. I had a few chickens. I traded a chicken

for a few nails, and then another for gasoline to get back and forth to town. I did that as long as the chickens held out. Finally I had to trade my watch for nails. That is something that I do not know how to make. . . .

Here you can take a picture of me making shingles. Look how easy it is to do it. It wasn't that easy at first, but I learned because I had to. Yes, I made that wheelbarrow and the saw-buck too. I had to because I had no money to buy tools with. . . .

Come in and look at the house. It isn't finished yet. I can't make glass, but we will have real windows. If I can, I will buy real doors, too. I am going to build a fireplace over there. We can gather the stones on the beach and haul them up here. All we need is the cement. Just look at that roof. It doesn't leak a bit. That is much better than the place we rented in town. It leaked right on us all the time. . . .

The new farmers enjoy the sense of security that is theirs as long as they can depend on their own labor to produce the essentials of life; they have a sense of accomplishment, a new-born creative impulse; they enjoy the bonds of familial solidarity not disrupted by division of labor, of interests, of loyalties to a variety of divergent groups. The family is once more becoming a true primary group. Many families have indicated that though their standard of living is lowered, though their earning power is reduced, though their facilities for formal education are diminished, the real values in life they now achieve are far greater, and with the fear of insecurity lessened, they would never again give up their freedom and go back to the hectic city to live. Back-to-the-land seems to be a forward movement; not the retreat of a defeated people. They seem to have found for themselves not merely a living, but a life worth living. They are in on the making of an economic order founded largely on *use* and not on profit, of values to be created and enjoyed and not mere things to be sold. They have revived bread making, cheese making, soap making, furniture making. They say:

There is a spiritual value in planting your own food, in watching the seeds sprout into fruit. . . . It is soul satisfying to be able to create something, even though it is no more than a turnip. . . . It is strength-building to shape your own domicile, no matter how humble. Why, the opportunities for creative work are unlimited here. . . . It's a real adventure to do pioneering in the unknown land at unaccustomed work, particularly since we are to-

gether and work together. You know, a farm does something *to* the people rather than *for* the people.

Here we have to deal with those elements of life which the Germans are accustomed to describe under such terms as *Lebensstyl*, *Lebensgefühl* and *Weltanschauung*—a new style of life, a new conception of life, and a new philosophy of living.

RESPONSES OF SOCIAL WORK TO CHANGING CONDITIONS AFFECTING IT

CHARLES C. STILLMAN

Federal Emergency Relief Administration

THIS tenacious depression is putting social work on the rack.

It was never easy either to define or to describe social work, and it was never harder to do so than it is today. Was the man who would solve unemployment by having apples sold on the street corners an amateur social worker or an amateur economist? Where belongs the Chamber of Commerce that promoted an active campaign, by publicly listing all coöperators, to stagger all possible jobs in all industrial and commercial establishments? Where are the mayors' committees of 1930 and 1931? Where are the social workers of 1930 and 1931 who were emphatic if not vociferous in declaring that local funds would take care of their poor, and that federal aid was undesirable and unnecessary?

On December 22, 1934, I saw a yoke of oxen pulling an old cart over the main street of a big city as a stunt to publicize a newspaper campaign to raise money to be spent for charity with no overhead. Was it an unconscious characterization of the type of service to be rendered? I officially observed also, in a remote county of a state in my region as FERA field

representative, a report of an investigator consisting in its entirety of this entry: "Family ain't got no vittles." Scarcely would one wonder about reluctance to classify such procedures as social work, yet social work tends to be interpreted in terms of feeding the hungry. "That no family shall go hungry this winter," is a valid objective.

I

The horrendous experiences of the past five years, however, are solidifying social work in its position that the attainment of happiness must be a reasonable probability in a decent social economy and not an incident or accident in an all-for-profit deploy of the forces of capitalism. This position has found concrete expression in many organized forms, especially since the opening of the present century. For a quarter of a century or more, social work has had a vision of functioning justice wherein the common necessities of life would be provided as naturally as day follows the night. At least, well known leaders in the field have been vigorous advocates. Social workers, generally speaking, have unfortunately been incon-

spicuous in an organized struggle for human rights. Dr. Bossard said: "For twenty years in social work we have not had to wander far from an established base."

Today, we *do* have to wander far from an established base. There are encouraging signs that an increasing number of people in responsible places realize that the inequities and iniquities of our present industrial system can not be offset by relief though established on a calendar basis. There are discouraging signs that industrial and political leaders believe that the temporary continuance of a rationed distribution of food is only a necessary inconvenience pending the return of the glorious (?) system that was the precursor of the ungodly mess in which the country now finds itself.

It is obvious that the enormous increase in the bulk of social work has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in substance. Such a statement must assume that relief activities, universally ubiquitous in the U. S. A., may be catalogued as social work. On this basis, social work is turgid. It is distended. It is suffering from flatulency. It is sick.

The FERA has had the sincere intention and has made earnest effort to perform relief work on the basis of established standards. The appalling proportion of the population on relief, the huge sums needed for the purpose, and the lack of supply of trained workers have united to interfere with the accomplishment of the worthy purpose. Thousands of relief workers, hastily recruited in counties heretofore devoid of standards in social service, are functioning with little or no appreciation of the limitations of a merely relief program. That is the basis for the statement made above that social work tends to be interpreted in terms of feeding the hungry. On the other hand, professional social workers are aroused as never before to the

involvements of a basic social structure that will promote justice, relieve unemployment, curb inordinate private profits, and look toward the provision of economic security. The pronouncements of the American Association of Social Workers and the *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work constitute an eloquent exhibit in support of such a brief.

Coöperative financing of social work in local communities has been driven as never before to put emphasis upon other than relief features in money-raising campaigns.

While, therefore, relief activities crowd the stage in the theatre of social work, it may be said that plenty of thinking is going on behind the scenes. Social work is deeply interested, so far as the professional group is concerned, in broad schemes of social insurance, in the elimination of archaic settlement laws from our statute books, and has a vitalized appreciation of the futility of relief as a remedial program under either voluntary or governmental auspices. While this has been preached by leaders in the profession long before now, the point is that the rank and file of social workers, professionally connected, are "sick and tired" of relief and agree with Dr. Bossard when he says:

These changes [in the functioning of family life] demand a type of social work which emphasizes guidance to the many rather than aid to the few, prevention through constructive helpfulness to a large number of families rather than amelioration to a distressed five per cent.¹

II

In grappling with the relief problems confronting it, social work has experienced a forced letting down of standards. The paucity of personnel is no doubt the chief factor. In one state of a population

¹ See p. 531 this issue of *Social Forces*.

of about a million and three-quarters there are not more than fifteen members of the AASW. The governor of that state, in attempting to influence the development of the relief program, states in public and private conference, that all the work of his state should be performed by natives. Case loads of two and three hundred preclude case work. A county in one state with a population of nine thousand reports seventy-six per cent of that population on relief. The social service director of the relief administration in that state ranks high in professional attainments. As to the county, geographical factors, local mores, and lack of local understanding of social work present almost insuperable obstacles in the path of a decent program.

On the other hand, the studied attempts of social workers to practice a case work technique developed under economic conditions far different from those maintaining now, have sometimes been disappointing in their results. The psychiatric social worker has not been welcome in many homes where unemployment alone is the problem. An unpublished and confidential report made by an educated observer in a large city contains the following:

Judging from the records, a bunch of embryo psychiatrists and amateur psychologists is turned loose upon these families to try out their theories. They have "majored" in social science, or, judging from the way they mix up their terms, they may have only a smattering of Freud to recommend them, but they are enterprising souls and feel that they are eminently fitted to "reconstruct" these families, less fortunate than themselves, and before you know it, they have, in their own jargon, developed very severe cases of "superiority complex."

Reams of good paper and hours of good time are wasted in minute descriptions of clients' houses, the color-schemes of their bath-rooms, etc. The Visitor talks to the neighbors, listens to back-fence gossip, returns to the office and records every minute bit of scandal she has been able to gather. She draws her clients out and inveigles them into discussing their affairs, even to *their most intimate marital relations.*

Matters that decent people do not as a rule discuss promiscuously. Then the Visitor gives advice, always with the grocery order in her hand, so to speak.

Some of the families I visited personally, and later read the records of their cases. In many homes I learned touching lessons of patience, courage and faith, and of old-fashioned loyalty. But according to the records most of these clients were of "low mentality", had fixations and complexes, and were either "schizophrenics" or paranoiacs.

By what authority, and on what basis? Years of study go into the making of a reliable psychiatrist, but these visitors are told from the start that a "social worker" recognizes instantly a psychopathic case, and apparently we are all psychopaths, "exceptin' me an' theel!"

From the records also, I learned that *religious sentiment of any kind* was a sign of "low mentality." *Faith and gratitude were fanatical.*

One professionally trained and experienced case supervisor related to me her experiences with clients many of whom had attached themselves to a coöperative, self-help group. In substance she said:

My best case workers are unable to deal successfully with these families. The leader of the coöperative group conducts his own case committee meetings with the heads of the families. He resents our visits, and claims that the men resent the visits of the case worker. In the rush of work, being under constant pressure, we have failed to adapt our technique to the existing situation. I suppose a good case work technique would take advantage of the situation, but I fear we have fallen down. At any rate, the families seem to get along pretty well without us.

There is ground for the statement of Dr. Young in her paper. After referring to honest, industrious, employable men and women who must now be aided by direct relief or work relief, she states:

Social work has approached this new clientele without any formulated philosophy of emergency relief, and with few sound principles of case work applicable to its special needs.

III

Significant accomplishments have been registered, however, in efforts by schools

of social work to adapt their teaching programs to meet the exigencies of the situation.

The FERA has spent and is now spending money to give to selected students from certain states opportunity for training in some of the member schools of the American Association of Schools of Social Work. In some of these schools, specially constructed curricula are offered, and in others faith is reposed in existing procedures.

One state has a three-fold program of training. First, selected students are sent to a distant metropolis for six months, where there is a most excellent school. Second, selected students are sent to a specially developed training school connected with a university of high standing and located within the borders of the state, in the very midst of the problems with which the students will have to grapple after leaving the institution. Competent instructors and case work supervisors are at hand. Third, traveling instructors visit counties and hold institutes as a means of improving techniques of those on the job. The FERA participates in all three of these programs.

A study of the results of the first two of these plans, after the passage of sufficient time, would constitute an interesting bit of research for the FERA. Judgment must be suspended till then. On the assumption that the purpose of the special training is to secure workers adequate for the immediate job at hand, the prophecy is ventured that the second of these plans will yield far better values.

In the particular state I have in mind, the standards as to admission of students and as to teaching are good. There are advantages in this plan: The problems peculiar to the region are brought into review; field work closely resembles the type of work to be done later by students

completing the courses; contemporary contribution is being made; active interest is being aroused locally in social work education; the student eases into the work with lesser demands upon adaptability and flexibility; it is less expensive. Of course, the dangers of provincialism, inadequate preparation, and of concession to local prejudices must be avoided.

Joseph Conrad in that splendid story, "Lord Jim," describes the qualifications of a ship-chandler's water-clerk, the business of the chief character in the story.

A water-clerk need not pass an examination in anything under the sun, but he must have ability in the abstract and demonstrate it practically. His work consists in racing under sail, steam, or oars against other water-clerks for any ship about to anchor, greeting her captain cheerily, forcing upon him a card—the business card of the ship-chandler To the captain he is faithful like a friend and attentive like a son, with the patience of Job, the unselfish devotion of a woman, and the jollity of a boon companion. Later on the bill is sent in. It is a beautiful and humane occupation. Therefore good water-clerks are scarce.

The passage reminds me of Joanna Colcord's reference to "social workers of proved ability." Potential social workers are born, actual social workers are made. It is a fact that some of our trained case workers have done less well under the strain of the day than untrained workers with ability in the abstract and the knack of demonstrating it practically. This is not because social work has developed no standards, but it may be because the workers lack imagination and flexibility to make their principles applicable to unusual and difficult situations.

I have suggested in one large city an objective study of the relationship, from the standpoint of results, between the training program of a school of social work in that city and the relief administration it is presumably serving. I dare say the school will welcome the study.

In that city, the confidential report, once before referred to, has this to offer:

During a whole week of record reading, I discovered but one visitor with common sense. His report read: "The young woman seems of good intelligence. The problem is strictly one of unemployment. As she did not seem anxious to discuss her personal affairs, visitor did not intrude."

And there is also this passage in the report:

Some of the entries have unconscious humor: "His trousers were in a deplorable condition, but visitor could only promise to call early next month to discuss them with him." One wonders if the expense of the "discussion" might not better be used to replace the dilapidated pants! It would be funny if it were not so tragic.

The other side of the picture lies in the satisfactory adjustments made in difficult family situations, in the spread of good cheer by well-placed relief, in skilful interviewing, competent and friendly advice, and so forth.

All schools of social work have been busy analyzing current relief problems. They have discarded dross and retained gold. More than one teacher of social case work, and many teachers of community organization have confessed to mental confusion about content and method. They are cognizant of the situation, and are studiously trying to measure up to the challenge confronting them.

IV

Very noticeable is the changed attitude of social workers toward public service. Those schools of social work that have long been emphasizing the importance of preparation for public welfare, and have offered corresponding curricula, are entitled to the satisfaction (and it must be a great satisfaction) that legitimately possesses the prophet and the pioneer.

The danger attendant upon the administration of relief is not political. To be

sure, politics has crept into many counties. The FERA administrator has labored hard to furnish a valid program. The danger is not in waste, though of course there has been waste here and there. It is inevitable in a program of the magnitude of the now existent administration. The real danger, in my judgment, inheres in the possibility of organization of the unemployed under unwise leadership. How does social work propose to relate itself to this important question?

An interesting exhibit comes from Florida:

The governor has at the request of the State Board of Public Welfare and the Florida Era appointed a Commission on Social Legislation with duties as outlined in the attached statement. (Letter from Mrs. Ruth W. Atkinson, Commissioner, Florida Board of Public Welfare.)

The statement follows:

The time has come when public welfare must be considered a major responsibility of the state. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the State Board of Public Welfare have requested that a commission on social legislation be appointed by the Governor. Such a commission to begin at once to work toward a fundamentally sound public welfare structure for the State of Florida, and to employ every effort in advance of the meeting of the legislature to coördinate proposed welfare legislation. This will tend to prevent the presentation of conflicting legislation and confusion of objectives.

There are three major problems to come before the commission:

1. What is the welfare job in the state and localities, i.e. what should a program include?
2. How should the state and localities organize and operate administrative machinery to handle the job?
3. How should such a program be financed?

Dr. Young, in her paper, makes a very important comment:

The masses of the people in the last few years of tension and unrest have begun to observe more closely the effects of governmental policies and administra-

tive procedures, and to take an active interest in proposed reforms. . . . It has been the tendency among social workers, however, to minimize the significance of these efforts, to fail to capitalize upon the enthusiasm and energy of the mass, and to overlook the soundly democratic character of such movements. Social workers on the whole have not entered into these struggles with either proposals, leadership or expert assistance.²

Dr. Young's stricture against social workers as a whole has justification. It should be emphasized, however, that many national social work agencies, and certainly also many schools of social work are aware of the unrest among the masses of the people, and are educationally active in declaring the opportunities and potentialities of broad welfare programs under governmental auspices.

v

Worthy of special mention is the sudden call to social workers to assume administrative duties far heavier than those customarily carried.

Official Washington obviously presents the best illustration. There, the advent of social workers may reasonably be assumed to insure for social work, in an unannounced capacity, a permanent residence in federal abodes. More to the point is the testing of social workers in state and county administrative positions under the FERA aegis.

Case supervisors in county administrations were from the beginning, and are now, hard to find. Voluntary agencies furnished many. As would be expected, there have been conspicuous successes and conspicuous failures. Many successful sub-executives from voluntary agencies, when transplanted to the rush and hurry of newly created governmental bureaus, lacked that power of adjustment and adaptation to new and distressing combinations of circumstances which they

habitually tried to teach their clients to practice. It was easy to rationalize in a situation of that sort, throw up hands in despair, cry "What's the use?" and retire to the comparative quiet of a guarded inner sanctum. There and then they could guard their sacred standards. The depression descended upon us rudely without fashioning an arena for preliminary rehearsal and exercise of our standards.

Dr. Samuel Zane Batten of the Northern Baptist Social Service Commission once said (unpublished):

It would be possible to have every citizen actively identified with organized religion as exemplified in our many churches of all faiths, and yet have rotten social conditions with business exploitation and no economic security.

It is possible to have good case work standards in the face of a dire situation demanding action and yet be helpless in their application. If standards are not useful in getting work done that must be done because of the exigencies of the situation, then the standards must be revised, or self-respect must counsel retirement. If the worker, however conscious of his or her own integrity, withdraws from the struggle, there still remain the living human beings who after all constitute the chief stake.

When state emergency relief administrators were early chosen, there was a desire on the part of the FERA to secure competent men from the ranks of social work. The demands upon a state relief administrator are very heavy. Executives of small organizations, thoroughly conversant with the traditions and literature of social work, have been placed in state administrations and called upon to supervise the expenditure of millions of dollars a year. The many-sided program of the FERA must be studied. Regulations must be interpreted. Public relations need to be cultivated. Contacts with men in politi-

² See pp. 538-39 this issue of *Social Forces*.

cal life are desirable and necessary. Budgets of counties for the emergency program must be set up. Personnel must be chosen. The organization is necessarily complicated. In view of all this, the comment can be made that social workers appreciate as never before the advantages of knowing more about organizational procedure. Social work has not been competent, and where competent has not been willing, speaking of the whole United States, to furnish the administrative ability required for the huge FERA program.

Today, the idea persists that state emergency relief administrators should be men of broad administrative experience, accustomed to read the significance of big movements, sympathetic with the social program of the FERA, and non-political in any vicious sense. It is of little account whether or not he is a social worker, provided he knows how to evaluate the service and counsel of specialists in the many-sided social program confronting his administration, but essentially he must be of executive capacity.

Despite the exceptions that must be made, it is patent that social workers, male and female of course, are facing open doors of administrative opportunity and responsibility far bigger than heretofore presented. Furthermore, they realize it and are making noticeably successful efforts to meet the enlarged demands.

VI

Social work is obviously facing a new challenge in the field of interpretation. Office holders, major and minor, are talking about relief, welfare, social service. Legislatures are forced to discuss it. It is in national, state and local budgets. Direct relief and work relief, rural rehabilitation, commodity distribution, emergency and workers' education, training of

workers, qualifications, case work, and so forth—these are on the lips of the laity.

Welfare work is in the news on an unprecedented scale. An FERA field representative visits a governor. When he emerges from the executive office, he invariably encounters representatives of the news gathering agencies. He visits the office of a state administrator. Local papers are there looking for a story that may prove to be a scoop. The press conferences of the FERA administrator yield in their importance to none other. Aldermanic investigations are the mode. Scientific and amateur research groups are gathering data. It is on the agenda of meetings of Chambers of Commerce. Study clubs, Sunday School classes and women's clubs bring it into review. A denominational publishing house recently wrote to an FERA representative asking for "Lesson Helps" written in terms of social service activities, stating that the material would be made available to teachers of men's classes in Sunday Schools throughout the jurisdiction of that religious denomination. State and county advisory commissions are being consciously or unconsciously "educated" about this thing called social work.

The FERA itself, through a comprehensive research organization, has become a veritable publishing house of social findings. For years to come, their reports will be the substance of class room discussion and work assignments. Everybody in this group of social scientists has certainly studied many of them. It is not conceivable that any group of social workers can get together without sooner or later finding themselves in the 'midst of discussion of governmental behavior in the big, broad field of relief and welfare.

A recent FERA bulletin comments as follows (Bulletin No. 993):

A summary of 688 survey projects reviewed by the Division of Research, Statistics, and Finance of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, since April 1934, reveals a wide variety of subjects are being studied. Projects range from historical investigations to traffic surveys and from studies of social welfare, relief and unemployment to surveys of agriculture, business and commodity prices. As a result of these surveys, many cities throughout the United States are providing themselves with essential information on which to base the planning and administration of their governmental services. Even more important, the separate States as well as the Federal Government are securing a more accurate picture of conditions toward which recovery measures must be directed.

Social workers in all fields—community chest, child welfare, family welfare, settlements, recreation, health—are making valiant efforts to capitalize the opportunities presented. The cooperating committee of national social work agencies with "Human Welfare" on the banner, and "Rebuild" as the slogan has been the most conspicuous effort under voluntary auspices.

By and large, however, there has been no noticeable departure from the traditional methods of publicity, either by governmental or voluntary agencies.

SUMMARY

The suddenness and severity of the economic upheaval overwhelmed social work. New definitions are in the making. The limitations of relief are appreciated more keenly than ever by the rank and file of social workers, and also by the laity. There is a growing dissatisfaction with "remedial" (sic) efforts directed toward irremediable conditions. Social workers are talking more than ever before about economic security and social justice. There are, however, no signs of widespread willingness to pay the price involved in radical social readjustments. Social work standards, facing a distressing volume of work, are struggling in a vortex. Training for social work is receiving needed emphasis. The weakness of short term courses is set over against the necessity of immediate recruiting for field service. Governmental participation in welfare activities on a large scale is now taken as a matter of course by social workers. Administrative techniques in social work, in view of the volume of money and activities, are entitled to and are receiving more attention and study by social workers. Golden opportunities for interpretation of social work are at hand.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

The sixty-second annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work and associate groups will be held in Montreal, Canada, June 9-15, 1935, with headquarters at the Hotel Mount Royal. There will be six general sessions of interest to the whole field of social work, while each morning will be devoted to sectional and special committee meetings. The presidential address by Miss Katharine F. Lenroot, will be delivered at the opening meeting of the Conference on Sunday, June 9. Miss Lenroot has chosen as her subject, The Purposes of Social Work as Tests of the Social Order. Topics at other general meetings will include: The Outlook for Economic and Social Security in Canada and the United States; The Processes and Possibilities of Social Change in the Economic Order; The Outlook for World Understanding as a Basis for World Security; The Qualities and Responsibilities of Individual Citizenship in the New Order.

Program and complete details can be had from Howard R. Knight, General Secretary, National Conference of Social Work, 82 High Street, Columbus, Ohio.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RURAL HOUSING

HELEN ALFRED

National Public Housing Conference

AMERICAN wanderers, forsaking the still unbroken social frontiers of their own country to journey through the European past, have proclaimed the superiority of American plumbing, sniffed at the odorous drains of England's manor houses, compared the tin tubs of France unfavorably with the gleaming cleanliness they had known at home. Yet plumbing as a symbol of civilized comfort is unknown to millions of American families; cradled between the mountain ranges of the east and west lie rude shacks that are no improvement on the sod huts of the Dakota pioneers.

This is no depression-born phenomenon; before the opalescent bubble burst in 1929 an average American wage earner's income permitted him only the meanest of dwellings. To quote from *America's Capacity to Consume*, published by Brookings Institution, in the year prior to the debacle it was estimated that 59 per cent of American families received incomes of less than \$1,500 per year; 27.5 per cent received less than \$1,000 per year on which to subsist; and 10 per cent were virtually public charges on an income of less than \$500 per annum. Beginning at the highest rate, \$1,500 per year, and allowing one-fourth of the income for rent, these comparatively

well-off families could pay no more than \$29.00 per month for their dwellings, including heat and hot water. The lower income groups were compelled to take the cast-off, the unwanted, the obsolete in housing.

That great American myth, so assiduously spread throughout the land in the past, the ideal of home ownership, required a hardy worker to risk his past savings and pledge his future, to the end that he might make it a reality in some speculator's nightmare version of Suburbia. For those to whom home ownership was an utter impossibility, the future held only a life circumscribed by that indecent place necessity forced him to occupy, a bitter travesty of all the word "home" has come to mean to man. The rabbit warren tenements, or grimy little shacks they were forced to live in had to be huddled together in order to give the landlord the maximum return on his investment in property.

In the South the workingman, according to the industrialist who employed him, was well cared for by the benign philanthropy of the cotton kings, the new magnates of iron and steel. But was he? Dr. Frank Bohn, who recently completed a survey of conditions in the cotton manu-

facturing industry, said: "From long experience among the workers of all sections, I am willing to go on record as fully believing that more than half of the four million textile workers are sheltered from falling rain and winter's cold by foul tenements and flimsy shacks in which no prosperous American farmer would house his cattle."

In 1929 the average wage of the cotton mill worker was reported by the Bureau of Labor Statistics to be \$11 per week; the iron and steel worker below the Mason-Dixon line received more than his fellow toiler in the cotton mills, but still appreciably less than was paid for the same type of work in the mills of the North. Both types of southern worker were generally housed by the company employing them, on property owned by the company or some of its board of directors. As Professor Emory Q. Hawk, of Birmingham-Southern University, said in an address before the 1934 southern conference on slum clearance and low rent housing: "The owners compelled the low income group of labor to pay the carrying charges on such land while they awaited an unearned increment." Such carrying charges allowed but small repairs, scarcely any replacement and no improvement in sanitary standards. Today even those few repairs are neglected, for the income average for the workers of America has fallen approximately 32 per cent below its 1929 high.

Turning from industrial to rural housing in the South, we find a still deeper degradation. The housing conditions among the share-croppers of the great feudal cotton plantations often have been indicted as "agricultural slums." According to Norman Thomas' account of housing conditions among the share-droppers, "A 'reasonably good' shack has two rooms and a lean-to. It is unpainted and often the

roof leaks. There is the most primitive sort of out-house and a dug well. It goes without saying that the windows are unscreened and the yard about the house is a little patch of dirt. The amusements, the religion and the culture which go with this economic condition . . . long hours of monotonous labor from plowing time to picking time for about eight to nine months a year, with nothing to do or any money to do it with during the months of leisure."

This fall the writer inspected some of the shacks of the share croppers on the great Arkansas plantations just across the river from Memphis. Windows rattling loosely in their frames, roofs uniformly leaking, the only furniture an iron bed, a broken down wood stove and several boxes to serve as chairs, these "homes" could only produce in their inhabitants despair, sullen revolt. Professor W. R. Amberson of the University of Tennessee, long a student of the problem of the rural worker, summed up the situation in the following words: "Bad housing in the cotton belt is nothing but a symptom of a more deep-seated social disease . . . the modern equivalent of the chattel slavery under which cotton was grown before the civil war."

Rural housing generally has lagged even far to the rear of the bad housing standards in cities. Commenting upon this the Committee on Farm and Village Housing of the President's Home Building and Home Ownership Conference of 1932, stated: "Overcrowding is common and poor sanitary surroundings, lack of proper toilet facilities, and impure or insufficient water are frequently found. An examination of the conditions of rural housing in general reveals that a large part of it is needlessly substandard." Adequate protection from adverse weather conditions was often lacking. Turning to a consid-

eration of provisions for a minimum of comfort and convenience, the Committee disclosed that existing standards were completely ignored for a very large proportion of persons in the groups under consideration.

"These dwellings are in many cases dark, ill-ventilated, in bad repair, and far from weather-proof," it was reported. "Typical characterizations by the workers were, 'not fit for chickens to live in,' or 'nothing but a dog house.' Overcrowding was extreme. Of 296 contract families in one area surveyed, 19 lived in one room shacks in which 6 or more persons lived. One shack housed 12 persons."

Sweeping into the national implications of this sample, the report continues: "... Over 50 per cent of the rural homes in the middle west and the east are in poor repair. In no section of the country are central heating systems found in one-third of the houses. Less than 1 of 7 farm-houses of the country are lighted by electricity. The proportion of farm families having water piped into their dwellings is that one of every six. Since the number of bathtubs and indoor toilets depend on the availability of this pumped water, the lack of sanitation can be clearly recognized."

The itinerant farm worker fares even worse in the lodgings available to him. Rude shacks to which water must be carried from a well or tap, yards distant from the home, are their common lot in the Imperial Valley, richest farming section of the Pacific Coast. Comparable conditions are to be found in the shelter provided for workers among the lettuce fields of Colorado, the wheat fields of Kansas and the Dakotas, the onion farms of southern Ohio, the great truck farms of New Jersey. The president of a large building and loan association in Texas, testifying before the Senate Banking and Currency

Committee, stated that, "from Washington to Texas homes may be found that are not good enough to stable a pig in."

Mining communities are notorious for the rudeness of the shelter they provide. The dying mining communities of Western Pennsylvania, the drab dirty towns of infamous Herrin County, the homes of the workers on the Mesaba range, the company houses of southern mining camps, all testify to the need for a new beginning in housing for the lower income groups.

Miners' wives, writing to the National Public Housing Conference, detail the degradations and needless hardships which indecent housing imposes. "Some of the houses leak badly. Only one or two rooms are really dry. We must use tubs to catch the water. One house has no ceiling. Whole window panes are gone. Some houses have no steps, others no doors. . . . There is no water in our house. For the 32 houses in our town there are only two pumps to supply all the water. One woman must walk nearly a quarter mile to bring water for her children to drink. In the summertime we bathe in the creek."

A relief committee among the striking Kentucky miners but a few months ago reported that "the miners, their wives and children live in crumbling shacks, many of them clapboard, through whose cracks pour the lashing mountain winds, the rain, the snow."

There is a vast hope for such dwellers in darkness to be found in the words of Public Works Administrator Harold L. Ickes: "One of our most pressing and important tasks is a revolutionary improvement in housing conditions in the United States. We want, and we must have, attractive low-cost housing for those in the lower-income groups. For the more gregarious portions of our population or for those whose conditions of employment re-

quire that they live in the more crowded areas we must provide decent and livable apartments within the reach of all. For those who more frequently, it seems to me, can use and enjoy a separate dwelling with a little plot of ground, we must, where we can, provide homes adapted to their desires and to their ability to pay."

These words, spoken at the Washington Conference on Public Housing last January, gave every indication that housing had gained the recognition it must have if reforms are at last to be made. For those now living in indecent, insanitary homes, it gave the promise of a new day to be hopefully awaited.

Following the lead given them by the State of New York, eleven other states have passed legislation vesting their cities with the power to condemn and clear unhealthy and substandard areas, and construct low-cost housing. Although they have not yet been given a free hand by the federal government, there is every cause to hope that, when the projects now under construction by the Housing Division, PWA, are completed, the housing authorities of the cities where they are located will be given their management and control. In the not far distant future it is probable that local housing authorities will be granted funds to demolish unsanitary areas and reconstruct them with low-cost housing on the basis of the proven procedure, now being evolved on 39 projects in 33 cities, by the Housing Division.

The Housing Division is concentrating on the urban slum areas of the nation; other agencies have made a small beginning in the work which must be done if America's rural millions are ever to be properly housed. Under the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior, 48 homesteads are now in process of development for the rehousing of rural workers. Of these, one near to

completion is the Dyessville project, in Mississippi County, Arkansas. Here workers have already begun to move in to the three, four, and five room green and white houses, each with its acreage of soil to be tilled. They will be allowed to pay for their homes through work done on the project, the total cost of the homes ranging from \$1,200 to \$1,500. But such homestead developments as the Dyessville project, while they will furnish an index which to judge other housing, can have no broad application to the national problem of housing. Their scope is too limited, their coverage too small, sustained development of the program by public authorities too uncertain.

Another governmental approach to the problem of housing is through the Tennessee Valley Authority. This governmental agency, in its broad implications, looks to the inevitable redistribution of industry and population consequent upon the easy distribution of cheap electrical power. Beyond this, it seeks to secure the proper classification and utilization of land, a new type of rural-urban life for the population lying within reach of its striding power lines.

Although it may attract some industries that are easily and cheaply moved, the basic industries of the nation—iron, steel, coal, have a heavy physical investment which precludes their movement. Decades must pass before the lessons proven by the TVA development can be put into general usage, before the living conditions now general can be cast into limbo through the development of new cities, new and more decent homes.

Meanwhile the problem presses. Rural and urban slums remain in existence, menacing the lives of those who must live in them, menacing the nation by the revolt they engender. These conditions can be cured. Rural and urban slums can be ended.

An aroused and informed public, determined to see an end made to those living conditions obtaining for the great majority of Americans, can build a new life, can see these sorely-needed new homes built. Programs for rehousing the rural population can be undertaken by Rural or Regional Housing Authorities, functioning for the countryside in the same manner in which Municipal Housing Authorities act for the cities. Expert direction of these programs would take account of the prevailing necessities for proper land use, for correct geographical distribution of population and for industrial integration.

The organization of public opinion in support of this program is now being undertaken. It is essential that public sentiment be focussed upon its application. The National Public Housing Conference, in memoranda to President Roosevelt, Secretary Ickes and others, has already advocated the establishment of a permanent federal housing unit in the Department of the Interior.¹ This action was taken by the recent Southern and New England

¹ Federal Public Housing Bill introduced by Senator Wagner, New York, March 26, 1935.

Regional Conferences on Slum Clearance and Reconstruction. The assembled delegates approved the extension and amplification of the present government program in urging the following action:

1. Increased appropriations by Congress for public housing and low rent home production. (Necessary if the value of the original impetus is not to be lost, if homes are to be provided at rents low enough to be compatible with incomes.)
2. Enabling legislation, permitting the creation of municipal housing authorities, in every state in the Union. (Necessary for decentralization of the program, for the development of state and local plans, for the creation of financially responsible bodies outside the political arena.)
3. Establishment of local housing authorities in cities and counties. (Necessary in order that projects developed locally may be managed locally, may be taken over by competent authorities from the federal government on completion.)

The possibilities of establishing a progressive and comprehensive federal-local housing service at this time are promising indeed. The opportunities for such action offer a sharp challenge not only to public authorities but to organizations and individuals of influence in every section of the country.

ON THE EVOLUTION OF DEPENDENCY MORES IN THE PRIMARY GROUP UNDER FEDERAL RELIEF AGENCIES

PAUL H. LANDIS

National Resources Board

THRIFT, self-reliance, and productive enterprise once characterized most rural communities. Today, many of these same communities are permeated with a new spirit—one of dependency and relief anticipation. The old query, "Will the crops fail?" has been supplemented by, and in drought areas replaced by, a new query, "Will the government relief revenues fail?" Both queries

involve the same fear—that of being unable to meet economic demands.

The establishment of an outside agency in a primary group frequently has important implications to the local community, especially when the established agency has to do with the dispensing of funds, as has been the case with the Federal Emergency Relief and the Civil Works Administrations. The implications are even greater when the

administration of this outside agency is placed in the hands of local residents. Perhaps never before have institutions of such dimensions been created in primary group communities. With their establishment there have come modifications not only in the local outlook but in the fundamental life philosophies of the people of the communities. The old idea of depending on one's self has given way, at least in part, to the new idea of depending on one's government. The development of the new mores may be traced briefly.

In every community there are those who are ready to request assistance in any form whenever it is available. Their neighbors, having little respect for this class, expect such conduct from them. These people naturally sought relief immediately when it was made available, through the FERA, but as conditions grew more severe, some individuals unaccustomed to accepting help were forced to choose between actual suffering and the acceptance of relief. Some had to be persuaded by neighbors and friends to accept assistance as an alternative to privation. Gradually the relief rolls increased in volume.

In the Fall of 1933, CWA was established in the local relief offices, and put under the direction of the local relief administrators. CWA was offered as work, not as relief, and through it non-relief recipients were offered a means of earning money with which to pay their debts, taxes, grocery bills, and to meet winter expenses.

This opportunity for work appealed to most of the farmers because it was the idle season, the hours were short, and the wages were higher than those to which they were accustomed. To a farmer who usually received nothing in the way of wages during the winter months, and who,

in fact, seldom handled very much money, wages of fifty cents per hour for a man and seventy cents per hour for a man and team offered a relative abundance of ready cash. Indeed, many farmers had more cash money during the existence of CWA than they had ever had during winter months. CWA, and even relief, were so remunerative in many rural areas that private enterprises, either in obtaining work as a laborer or in developing possible productive activities on one's own initiative became unattractive. CWA lasted only about twenty weeks, but those twenty weeks were weeks of such abundance that stopping the CWA income in the household was like drying up the family cow.

Those whose weekly incomes had suddenly dropped from fifteen dollars to nothing faced serious readjustments. Though they had received this income for a period of only twenty weeks, a sudden awareness of relief need was felt by the great mass of ex-CWA workers. CWA went a long way toward breaking down personal resistance to receiving relief. People received their weekly CWA check through the relief office. After CWA many of the states offered an opportunity to work for relief also. Little wonder that relief rolls increased beyond all expectations, and that relief needs were expanded beyond actual requirements. Once on relief, personal resistance to relief acceptance seemed to disappear. When this situation had become widespread in the community, it was almost epidemic in effect.

In the primary group communities, each man is tremendously concerned with the activities of his neighbor. Upon the establishment of relief, each became concerned with the extent of benefits received by his neighbor, and then proceeded to try to get as much or more for himself. "If neighbor Johnson can get relief, why can't I?", was the question which each

man asked his neighbor, and before long each was imitating his dependent neighbor on the ground that he was as deserving and as needy. Competition in this way became another factor in swelling the relief rolls in many rural and small town communities.

At this stage in the development of community mores, practically everyone who could by any pretense claim a right to relief had been placed on relief rolls. In drought stricken states there was no alternative. Circumstances provided no variable which made relief recipients less needy, so that by the Fall of 1934, citizens had come to take relief for granted. The local Emergency Relief Administration was already being accepted as an established institution, as well established as the bank, the grocery store—in fact, almost as firmly established as the family itself. Some assumed a demanding attitude and went to the relief director, not to ask for help, but to demand it. In some communities relief recipients talked of flogging the relief director; and in many communities the directors were intimidated to the point where they felt insecure.

The next step in the development of community attitudes one can hardly predict, but certainly until some variable is introduced into the situation, one can expect that local communities will continue to take relief for granted; should it be suddenly cut off one can anticipate serious trouble. The attitude of expectancy for benefits from Washington which have been fostered cannot easily be eradicated. Whether abundant crops and adequate opportunities for work will change the situation remains to be seen. It seems probable that these new mores are not as firmly ingrained as the old work-thrift-independence mores, and that with a new set of circumstances the old mores will reassert themselves.

In the building of the relief mores, the affect of availability of relief on relief attitudes is an important factor. Relief has never before been available to the extent that it is at the present time, for several reasons: First, in the past there has been a psychological barrier to relief acceptance which has always kept many from accepting public aid. However, as has been intimated, CWA and other Governmental agencies dispensing various forms of relief in local communities gradually broke down the psychological barriers to receiving public aid to such an extent that in many communities they are practically non-existent. Second, previously there has been no institution dispensing relief in many American primary group communities. Such relief as has been given has been of a private sort, dispensed out of sympathy by some neighbor or friend. Under the present system a public relief institution has been established in most local communities. Third, such public relief as has been given in the past has usually been dispensed by local agencies through the use of funds levied in the local community. Such funds were always zealously guarded by people in the community.

Contrast this past condition with the present situation. The established agencies are Federal agencies, funds come from outside, and no local resident has an interest in guarding their distribution. A relief director is paid to guard them, but after all, a local hired man makes a poor policeman in a case of this sort. The spirit of local greed often predominates, and policies that will gain as much as possible for the local community are adopted. The desire of county relief directors to maintain local favor is predominant over the desire to guard federal interests, so that relief in many communities has been more universal than needs warranted.

These comments are based largely on experience in the drought area, and perhaps are not so much true of those areas where relief agencies have been less prominent. Neither are the attitudes described universal in the primary groups where relief has been extensive, nor are they necessarily firmly ingrained. They may tend to disappear rapidly with the return of normal conditions and the removal of federal relief agencies. The new mores are, nonetheless, in the making, and there is no doubt but that they will persist to modify to some extent the American rural self-sufficiency mores.

Some of the possible desirable and undesirable implications of the new mores may be considered. Never before has the federal government contacted so intimately the lives of the masses of rural dwellers. This has developed a communal spirit that is unusual in America. There has de-

veloped, also, an unusual interest in, and a loyalty to, government. To a considerable degree it is a loyalty to the "loaves and fishes"—a loyalty which may turn traitor when benefits are exhausted. It is a loyalty that expects immediate compensation. This new loyalty, however, does make possible some constructive social legislation, because the masses feel that it promises further "loaves and fishes:" old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and a permanent public works employment program. A basis for the approval of such social legislation has been laid, so that we may now expect from rural America a favorable response—one that would not have been forthcoming previous to their experience with CWA, FERA, AAA, and other relief and emergency agencies. In this respect the new mores may provide a basis for social reconstruction.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

The thirty-ninth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science was held on April 5 and 6, 1935, at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia. For the general topic of discussion for this year's sessions, the Academy chose the timely and live subject of "Socialism, Fascism and Democracy," which was considered under the more detailed classifications of Personal Liberty and the State; Alternatives to Democracy; Democracy in the United States; Political Structure and Social Planning; Some Basic Problems; Democracy and International Affairs. The papers presented were unusually stimulating and thought-provoking, and the meetings well attended with the audience taking an active part in the discussions.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

THE CHILD OF THE RELIEF AGENCY*

BESSIE AVERNE McCLENAHAN

University of Southern California

WITH the tremendous increase in the number of families receiving relief, leaders everywhere, as well as the average citizen, are beginning to ask: what is the effect upon the social attitudes and the personality development of the children of these families? Who is the child of the social agency? It is not possible in a brief article to discuss the child of all the social agencies. We shall, therefore, limit our discussion to the child known to the family welfare agencies, whether publicly or privately maintained. Family welfare agencies do not deal with the child directly since their major responsibility is with the family and with the preservation of family unity. As we shall present the subject, we shall understand "the child of the social agency" to be that child under sixteen years of age whose family is the client of a family welfare organization.

The data in this discussion come directly from social case workers, visitors, and supervisors of family welfare agencies. The report can be only suggestive since it is necessarily incomplete but it does indicate, we believe, the need for continued observation and alertness to the child's

reactions to his experiences, as well as a need for a greater appreciation of their social significance for the future of the United States.

We begin with reminding ourselves of the courage and power of the human spirit to adjust and adapt itself to change. Life is a process of adjustment and the result may be reorganization or disorganization. "The motive of life is to function," and the individual struggles to act with some measure of satisfaction to himself. He attempts to escape as much pain as possible and to enjoy those experiences which reflect his values. Now we who look at youth sometimes forget the elasticity of childhood and adolescence and sometimes overlook the power of group sentiments and group pressure to compel conformity.

We shall present *first*, a review of children's reactions to the social situation that brings the family to the welfare agency, as well as their attitudes towards themselves, towards the community, towards work, and towards the family. *Second*, we shall outline some of the forces that influence the children's attitudes, such as their families' points of view, the prevailing neighborhood or group spirit, and the relationship as established between the social worker and the family.

* Presented before the Child Welfare Section, California Conference of Social Work, May 16, 1934.

Third, we shall give the opinions of social case workers, probation officers, and group (club) workers as they see "the child of the social agency." *Finally*, we shall point out the relation of the data to the needs of the child in "a new social order."

REACTIONS OF CHILDREN TO ACCEPTANCE OF RELIEF

The illustrations used are taken from the files of social agencies and prepared by social case workers who have known the children and their families. "Much has been said concerning the children who learn to look towards the Agency rather than to their parents for the things they need," reports one. "In our average middle class district, there have been very few instances of a child looking towards the Agency for relief. On the other hand, we can cite many instances of children whose pride would not permit them to accept even proffered relief such as County Welfare or Red Cross clothing or free lunches at school. Eleanor,¹ sixteen years old, and Floyd, fourteen, are American-born children of American-born parents. There has been a long period of unemployment of the father and ill health of the parents and Eleanor. In 1928, Eleanor, then eleven years old was placed in the Sanatorium for treatment of tuberculosis where she remained for a full year, the family accepting no direct relief. In 1930, the family received aid for two months, and in December 1931, they again applied for relief as the father was unable to secure employment. During the past six years, there has been much medical supervision and for the past year, a full budget has been allowed. During 1932, Floyd earned about thirty-five cents a day shining shoes and this amount was turned into the family budget to provide food for the four.

¹ All names have been changed in order that the children and families may not be identified.

During the past year his earnings have provided clothing and school expenses for the two children. Eleanor has steadily refused PTA lunches stating she would rather go hungry than have her school mates know the family is receiving relief. Both children have also refused Welfare clothing for the same reason."

Here is another: "A prominent Hollywood professional man was obliged to apply for temporary assistance for himself, his wife, and sixteen year old daughter, a junior in high school. The father was in poor health and unable to collect fees owed him. At the time of the first visit, the proud parents informed the visitor that their daughter was an honor student and said by her teachers to be one of the outstanding pupils. Six months later, the daughter's work was in a precarious state. She was failing in one subject and just passing in two others. The financial condition of the family had so upset her that it was impossible for her to study or to concentrate on anything. The child lost weight and became extremely nervous. The mother secured work in the wardrobe department of one of the motion picture studios and was able to assume the family support. Immediately the daughter's health and school work showed improvement."

"One mother asked a visitor: 'Can you arrange to have John's locker fee paid without having any of the other children in school know about it? He is getting demerits every day because it isn't paid. I told him to go to his teacher and explain that his father was out of work and that we didn't have any money to pay the fee, but he is so proud he won't go. I think he will leave school before he will tell anyone that his parents have to receive charity.'"

"The following is a statement of a sixteen year old boy following his first con-

tact with social agency workers. He and his sick mother had been returned to their legal residence from an eastern state. Because of his mother's condition, they had been met by social workers and advised or directed periodically en route. Some of the contacts had been considerate and helpful; some, humiliating and all of the family difficulties seemingly exposed to the world. After reaching their destination, the highly sensitized mother realizing the effect of the experience on her son who had grown more and more silent as they travelled, told him she had a few dollars in reserve, (from the sale of her piano, her last cherished possession) and that she had a plan. They would not contact an agency but take a room in an inexpensive hotel and wire her mother, who might be able to raise sufficient to transport them to her in the northern part of the state. As they entered the hotel room the boy exclaimed: 'Oh, Mother, you don't know what a load has been lifted from my shoulders! Just to be free again!' "

Again: "A mother accidentally used one of the welfare sacks to pack her child's lunch for school. The child did not know that the family was receiving aid, and was extremely hurt when one of the children at school made fun of her, saying: 'You are on the county! You are on the county!' The child denied it but the mark on the sack was evidence enough to the other children. As a result, the child went home and cried for days. The mother tried to explain, but it will be a long time before the child will forget the experience."

In another instance: "Mrs. Green said to the visitor, 'Marjorie thinks the world is a terrible place and to receive aid, a disgrace. She can't go after government food because it upsets her for days when she does. She isn't bitter; she just feels

badly. The only place where she is natural is at church. No one there knows our circumstances. We may be millionaires, for all they know. I am sure the church would help us if they knew we needed anything but we are careful not to let them suspect that we do. If they ever found out, I could never get Marjorie to go to church again."

As one reads these stories, it is clear that the experience transgresses the child's ideas of social values, of security, and social status. Undoubtedly the family's attitudes of the value of economic independence have influenced the child's philosophy, as well as the possible feeling of disappointment and shock that the family has failed him in providing for him. I do not mean that the child would so reason it out. It is an emotional reaction conditioned by standards of the social world he has known. On the other hand, some of the children are discovering "new" values. For example: Louise Elbert is an only child. She is fifteen years old. She said to the visitor, "I can't go to the parties that cost anything so we have them at home. I invite several of the boys and girls in and we roll back the rugs, turn on the radio and dance. We quite often have pop corn for refreshments because it doesn't cost much. We have awfully good times." "Child after child has said to me in describing something he has done or something he has,—'It doesn't cost *anything!*'—conveying the idea that this fact made it that much more desirable."

The question is frequently asked: What are the results upon the children when the family is being maintained by the community and when the children themselves may receive aid directly through certain agencies, particularly those that function through the schools? Is the child being trained to look to the community and its social agencies, such as the family welfare

organization, public relief departments, and the public schools, rather than to his family for maintenance? The following illustrations are pertinent.

"One child receiving State Aid felt that the State had entire responsibility for her welfare. She showed no appreciation for the aid at all but felt that the State was only doing its duty in sending her ten dollars every month. The girl's mother felt this way about the matter and the child accepted it as a matter of course."

"Ruth, ten years old, had been placed in a boarding home. The boarding mother had secured some greatly needed clothing for her from friends. Later a child from another family was placed in this home. This second child wore very shabby clothes. Ruth was most snobbish towards the newcomer and when corrected by the boarding mother, replied,—'My parents were not always poor. They were taxpayers at one time and I am entitled to all I am getting.'"

"'I demand that my rent be paid today,' was a typical remark of a certain client whose family consisted of his wife, two children under three years of age, a boy of eight, and a boy of ten. This man was not particularly anxious to work. On several occasions he told the visitor that with sixteen million out of work, it was useless for him even to try to find a job! This man's attitude was communicated to the children. The PTA reported the children *demanding* shoes, lunches and anything else that was free but refusing to do anything in return. These children were influencing other children and creating a serious problem in the school room."

I wonder how a citizen would evaluate the following explanation offered by Mrs. Lawrence to her two boys, thirteen and fourteen years of age. Their father who had been a civil engineer was killed when he was knocked down by a truck. "I just

couldn't bear to have the boys know we were on the county so I didn't tell them. But one day they read on a package of butter that we got from the government surplus, 'This package is not to be sold.' They didn't understand why this was on the package. Then I told them that our government is a kind friend that helps people until they are able to help themselves. And now they are happy that they live in a country in which the government is a friend."

It has been the traditional philosophy in the United States that a man should work for what he has or what he receives in order to conform to *his own ideas* of his status as a self-maintaining person. How does the acceptance of relief affect the work-attitudes and the sense of individual responsibility?

"Harold, aged fourteen, and Frank, aged twelve, whose father is paralyzed and whose mother is too ill to work, were in need of clothing. They begged their mother not to ask the visitor for clothing but to allow them to sell papers after school and earn sufficient money to buy their clothes. They felt that the County was doing all that should be done when it paid the rent and supplied food. They have always been proud little boys and dislike the idea of being dependent upon others for support. They work in the school cafeteria for their lunches and never accept a thing at school without working for it."

In contrast—two other boys of about the same age, both in junior high school. They "recently complained that they could not go to school because they couldn't pay their locker and towel fees. Although an opportunity to earn these had been given at school, the boys made no effort to earn the money, feeling quite sure it would be necessary only to ask the visitor for the amount needed. This fam-

ily had been formerly dependent upon relatives and more recently, upon the County."

We have considered the family, the central social institution in our American civilization and have believed that the child's attitude towards his place in the family vitally affects his attitude towards the family he may one day establish, as well as towards his responsibility for members of his immediate family. We have further believed that family unity and participation in family plans and activities are fundamentally socializing influences. In the following stories, a variety of attitudes and consequent behavior are revealed.

"Mr. and Mrs. Benton have one son, nine years old. Since the family has been on relief, Ben has become almost a beggar at school. He asked the principal for shoes for his mother, free milk for himself, begs sandwiches from other children, and has asked for free lunches. Is this his effort to help the home problem in his small way or the result of relief in his home?"

"When parking my car preparatory to making a visit, I was approached by a bright faced little boy about six years old. He asked: 'Do you have a radio in your home, because if you do, Lady, I am selling the Radio Review which gives all the different radio programs.' I told him that I had a radio and asked to see the book. While I was looking at it, the child said, 'You see, Lady, I keep my family by selling books, so won't you please buy one?' After purchasing a Radio Review, I made the scheduled call and found that this small boy belonged to my client. The mother told me that the child earned about twenty cents a week which he gave to his father and that he felt that he was actually supporting the family. The father took the child's money not only because he

needed it but also because he did not want to belittle the child's efforts to coöperate and assume responsibility. This small boy, although only six years old, was in his way, meeting the same problems as was the father and taking them just as seriously. The mother said that he worried over his collections and bills until he couldn't sleep. Upon being questioned, the mother admitted that the chief subject of conversation was money and consequently the children had an exaggerated idea of its value and importance."

"One of our eighteen year old girls asked this astonishing question. 'If the County is going to continue to give us most of our relief in groceries and rent guarantees, how are the young men in these families ever going to step out with a girl and get married? They will need a little cash to do that.'"

"The three oldest children in one family asked aid for their mother and four younger brothers and sisters because they had grown discouraged trying to support all of the family on their small wages and wished to drop that responsibility and *live their own lives.*"

What have been the predominant values to which the parents have clung during the time of their support by the community agencies? The importance of a good appearance; the fear of the child's developing an inferiority complex because he can't have the things his playmates may have; or "new values," that is, values other than money values,—are all in evidence.

"Many of the mothers will get along without what most people consider necessities in order that the children may have those things which will keep them from developing an inferiority complex. "No matter what we do without," said one mother with three girls in high school, 'I see to it that the girls are well shod and

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that their clothes are neat and well pressed. We send their coats to the cleaners in order that they look well. I am afraid it will do something to the girls if I should let them go out without always being well groomed."

"A number of mothers have insisted on keeping expensive furniture they had when they were in better circumstances so that the children would not be ashamed of their homes or of having other children visit them."

"A number of mothers have kept their children from finding out that they are receiving charity. One little girl thinks Santa Claus provides their groceries."

"A boy about eleven came home from school and said: 'Everybody keeps talking about being hit by the depression. Has the depression hit us?' This family is being taken care of by the community."

"One mother said, 'I think the depression has done us good. We went along having everything we wanted and thought everything would be lovely always. Then the jolt came. It taught us that there were other things in the world besides those that cost money.'"

EFFECTS OF CHARACTERISTIC NEIGHBORHOOD ATTITUDES

Districts vary in the reaction to widespread relief,—antagonism to community agencies; acceptance; dependence. We give only two illustrations.

In one district, "there are streets where nearly every family on the block is receiving relief. The children know that the aid is given but as all their friends get aid, too, it is nothing to worry about or try to hide. If the County gives Johnny Jones a new pair of shoes, Jimmie Porter feels that his mother should ask the 'County Lady' for a pair, too. In one instance, little Danny Smith could not be outfitted with shoes and corduroys at the

county store because the store could not supply his size. His older brother, Roy, got new cords and shoes and went to school all dressed up. Danny refused to go because his brother so out-shone him. Finally, a nearby private agency came to the rescue and gave Danny new shoes and cords, too. This restored peace in the family and Danny's self-esteem. The source of the clothes made not the slightest difference, it was the clothes themselves that counted."

"In a certain foreign district where the families are entirely dependent upon the County, their attitudes in expecting all their needs to be provided for without any effort on their part has had a tendency to make the children feel that they may ask for what they will, the sky being the limit. This morning I was greeted by an eight year old boy with 'Do you come to bring us money?' Other children run to meet me asking for clothes, for shoes, etc. The men, who in former years worked on ranches during the summer months, have been making no inquiries regarding the possibility of employment these past few years, saying that they receive more from the County then they could earn working in the fruit. Their lack of desire to remain at least partially self-supporting is reflected in the older children by their feeling of being abused if expected to work and help support the family."

THE SOCIAL WORKER AS A FACTOR IN CREATING SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Said Mrs. Gerton, "A visitor may make receiving aid a terribly hard experience or she can make it easy." Miss Robinson in *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work* reminds us that the ethical aspect of social case work is willingness to reverse the situation, to put ourselves on the other side of the table, as it were. A young social worker said to me the other day,

"Would you want to apply to a social agency?" And I said, "No." Then she asked, "Do you know what I would do if I faced that necessity? I would take my last money, buy passage on a Catalina steamer and jump off when we reached the deepest water." This is a pretty bad comment on social work as she has seen it.

The director of one of the district offices in Los Angeles County offered the following statement. "When families first apply for aid, they seem to expect the receptionist at the application desk to be haughtily condescending about their troubles. They are pleasantly surprised to find her possessed of real understanding and sympathy but they seem to feel it is too much to expect that the visitor will also be possessed of any human qualities. The idea presented by the movies of the social worker is paramount in their minds. If the visitor is not old and mean and heartless, they are still convinced that under the surface, there must be a heart of flint. When they finally understand that their predicament is their own secret and not to be advertised for the benefit of gossiping neighbors, and that relief is extended for aiding families until such a time as they can again re-establish themselves in the business world or adjust themselves once more to a normal social life, their pride which is badly battered begins to reassert itself. The fact that all records are confidential and that clients are treated with courtesy are most important factors in helping families keep courage and faith."

SUMMARY OF CHILDREN'S REACTIONS TO THE
PRESENT SITUATION FROM VARIOUS
POINTS OF VIEW

The Relief Administrator

The following quotation is taken from an article entitled, "The Child of Charity,

a By-Product of the Depression."² "After long-continued unemployment and assistance, dependence reaches the point where the desire for self-support is almost entirely gone. The unemployed become unemployable. The children go through these successive stages with their parents, and after a long experience in 'receiving something for nothing,' they lose the incentive to work, the adventure goes out of life, personal initiative is atrophied. After a child has had this experience of receiving something for nothing over a period of years, he frequently expects to continue to get what he asks for,—for nothing. When the time comes that this is denied him, there is danger that he will attempt to get what he wants by using his wits rather than by honest effort. Sometimes when he cannot get by in this way, he will use other work-less methods until he finally becomes a community problem, and may wind up in juvenile court or a penal institution."

The Probation Officer

"The effects of the depression are seen in increased family conflicts, tensions, and anxieties. Perhaps one of the most serious aspects of the situation is the sense of futility because no work is available for many of our youth. There is a danger that idleness may breed a lack of desire to secure employment. Many workers encounter an apathetic attitude on the part of young people and a lack of interest in anything. It is sometimes difficult to rouse their interest even in recreational programs. There is a lack of security. Old standards and values are questioned and even discarded. Youths lacks direction."

² Mrs. E. Martha Morse, "The Child of Charity," in *Glendale Youth and Readjustment*, April 1933, published by the Glendale (Calif.) Coördinating Council.

The Club Leader

"Everywhere we see the evidences of the need for creative activity, the development of a feeling of security in the discovery and use of individual powers and abilities. Participation in any group project gives a sense of belonging, of recognition. Children coming from districts where most of the families are receiving aid, tend to feel sorry for themselves. Their first question about any program is: 'What does it cost?' Their quick withdrawal from activity for which a charge is made is frequently compensated for with the expectation that every need will be provided for."

CONCLUSION

What of the "new social order" in relation to the development of social ideals on the part of children? It would seem that one of the first needs in social work is the discovery of a sound philosophy of relief. One social worker has written: "The problem which is confronting our staff is that of a changed attitude on the part of the client toward receiving relief. Four or five years ago we would have con-

sidered the client 'pauperized.' Today because of the general feeling that relief is the right of every human being when he cannot get a job he wants, we find that that word does not describe the client's state of mind and yet that the end result is a good deal the same."³

Relief is not the answer to the need of the present hour. We need to reassert the value of the dignity of the human being and the necessity for personal exertion in expressing skills and capacities. If the motive of life is to function and especially to participate in a common striving, we defeat the very purpose of life when the opportunity is taken from the person. In such a way is the child cheated out of normal family functioning and forced to look away from the family and even away from his own satisfying creative effort to the community to supply his wants. We need to help people face reality not to try to escape it through covering up the deterioration of morale with the blanket of "doing good" and the mere relief of suffering.

³ Quoted by Francis H. McLean, "The Case Work Laboratory," *The Family*, March, 1934, p. 25.

INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS

The third session of the Institute of Race Relations is announced for July 1-29, 1935, at Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. Among those who will serve as faculty members and lecturers are: Frank D. Watson, Rüdiger Bilden, Horace M. Bond, John Stewart Burgess, Ralph J. Bunche, Charles H. Houston, Eduard Lindemann, Fred McCuis-ton, W. F. Ogburn, Ira DeA. Reid, Frank Tannenbaum, R. B. Vance, Donald Young. President Frank Aydelotte of Swarthmore College, and Dr. Franz Boas of Columbia University, will serve as chairmen. Directors are Dr. Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, and Dr. Otto Klineberg of Columbia University.

"The Institute is open to educators, social workers, labor leaders, employers, journalists and certain lay people. The fee is one hundred dollars which covers all expenses for the month, including tuition, room and board." For complete information address: Institute of Race Relations, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE INFLUENCE OF RACE AND CULTURE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN ILLINOIS

D. E. LINDSTROM

University of Illinois

ILLINOIS has been so situated in the historical events of the nation that a review of its early settlement by the white people is essential to a fuller understanding of the influences of culture groups on present rural social organization. Quite naturally each new culture group which came to the state in those early days brought with it customs, ideals and manners of living, which had more or less influence on the subsequent social organization.

During the eighteenth century, when the thirteen colonies were struggling to establish themselves on the Atlantic seaboard, the population of Illinois was comprised chiefly of a number of Indian tribes and a few scattered French-Canadian settlements. They pursued hunting, fishing, trading, and, on the part of the Illinois Indians in the region of Peoria, some cultivation of corn.¹ The Illinois Indians were of the Algonquin family and consisted of five tribes: the Kaskaskias, the Cahokias, the Peorias, the Tamaroas, and the Michagamies. They occupied the entire territory from Lake Michigan to the

Mississippi River and almost the entire territory now in the State of Illinois. They were in frequent warfare with the Iroquois, who destroyed towns, and carried off prisoners and pelt furs, which they sold to the French and English traders. Many were baptized and added to the roll of the Catholic church by French-Canadian Jesuit priests among the most notable of whom were Marquette and Joliet. As a result of an alliance formed between the Ottawas, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Miamis, and Winnebagos, the Illinois of the Peoria region were exterminated about the year 1769. The Pottawatomies of Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana then took possession of the Illinois country.

In the year 1800 the commissioner of Indian affairs estimated that 30,000 Indians (including all the tribes) were living within the boundaries of the state. About three-fifths were on the Illinois River. The Kickapoos had a few villages in the central portion of the state and frequently intermarried with the Pottawatomies. These were in constant warfare with the Kaskaskias and Cahokias in the southern part of the state. Depredations were frequently reported upon the white settlements in the Kaskaskia and Vin-

¹ N. Matson, "French and Indians of the Illinois River," Republican Job Printing Establishment, Princeton, Illinois, 1874, pp. 33 to 206.

cennes regions until Governor Edwards, General William Clark, and August Chouteau, commissioners for the United States Government, and 38 Indian chiefs representing the Pottawatomies, Ottawas and Chippewas, signed a treaty of peace (1816), whereby most of the lands in Illinois were sold by Indians.²

French immigration into Illinois and the establishment of missions and settlements seems to have been made as a result of two dominant motives.

The southern emigrants from France were likely colonists in the true sense. They established communities and a family life and while they traded largely with the redmen they worked more toward gradually pushing forward into the wilderness communities of their own blood. . . .

. . . On the other hand, the French monarchs, influenced actively by the church, dreamed of a great kingdom in New France, but it was to be almost wholly a kingdom of Gallicized and more or less Christianized redmen, and not a new kingdom of Frenchmen, except enough to establish and hold military posts and churchly missions. . . . Meantime Spanish ownership of the west side of the great river above what is now Louisiana for a time brought into the same or nearby region another branch of European lineage.³

The influence of French culture was limited: (1) by the Treaty of Paris in 1759 which gave to Great Britain all of the territory east of the Mississippi River and which caused many French families to move out of the French settlement of the Kaskaskia region to the Missouri side; and (2) by an order from Paris in 1763 "for the arrest and dispersion of the Jesuit Priests and the destruction of the chapels."⁴ Neither English nor American settlers flowed into the Illinois Country during the brief period of British control.

² John Moses, *Illinois: Historical and Statistical*, Vol. I, Ch. II, Fergus Printing Co., Chicago, 1895.

³ George Murray McConnell, *Illinois and Its People*, Publication No. 7 of the Historical Library, Illinois, 1902, p. 73.

⁴ Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 570.

King George III prohibited his subjects from making purchases or settlements in this region because the English Board of Trade wished to confine all new settlements on the Atlantic coast within easy reach of the trade and commerce of Great Britain.⁵ A few soldiers at Fort Chartres and Fort Gage and fur traders were the only evidences of the English possession of this territory.

When the French power in Canada was broken by the English colonists there began to move from Carolina and Virginia the advance guard of the Celts and Saxons, commonly known as the Scotch-Irish; to settle in Tennessee and Kentucky.

By and by, the united power of the sturdy Pennsylvania German, the curiously mingled Dutch-Saxon-Swede from New Jersey and New York, and the alert and restless Yankees into whom Puritans had blossomed, burst through the narrow gateway between Lake Erie and the Ohio, long and stubbornly contested by the red races, and then began to pour over the Illinois prairies into the Little French Communities and among the scattered Spanish along the states western border.⁶

George Rogers Clark made his famous march upon Kaskaskia in 1778 to secure possession for the Revolutionary forces. At that time there were 250 families in the town with a mixture of French, English, and Indian blood. Clark's success in getting the control of this strategic western point for the Revolutionary Americans, can be credited to some extent to the fact that Pierre Gibault, who became priest in the parish in 1768, was in sympathy with the Revolutionists. The fact that Clark was wise enough to grant to the French inhabitants the privilege of living as they had previously lived except to show allegiance to the American flag, materially aided in securing control of the western territory for the Revolutionary forces.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

⁶ McConnell, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

⁷ Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-152.

The first permanent American settlements in Illinois are claimed to have been at Belfountain and New Design, in what is now Monroe County, settled by people from Virginia. For some reason these early incoming Americans did not readily mix with the remnants of the French population occupying the older settlement in Randolph County.

Virginia ceded her claim to the Territory to the United States on March 1, 1784. From this time until the organization of St. Clair County in 1790 there was a very imperfect administration of the law, which consisted of an odd mixture of French and English precedents. Land speculation under Governor Todd and grants of land according to the custom of the French commandant did much to demoralize the earlier settlements.⁸

The county of St. Clair was divided, in 1790, into three judicial districts, one under a judge who was of Swiss stock, a second under a French merchant, and a third under an Englishman. Immigration was retarded by Indian ravages until Wayne's victory over the Indians in 1794, when immigrants began pouring in. In 1791 there were but 300 compared with 9,000 in 1809. In 1795 St. Clair was divided by a line running east and west through New Design to the Wabash, all south of it making Randolph County. About 1815 two German families first settled in a deep gorge of the Mississippi bluff in St. Clair County and became the nucleus for the large German population of St. Clair and adjoining counties.

By 1805 immigrants were beginning to locate at various points in southern Illinois: Shawneetown, Prairie du Rocher, Cave-in-Rock, and at Edwardsville. During the next seven years following 1809, there was little colonization growth.⁹

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 290 to 292.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

With the close of the War of 1812, immigration was renewed. The northern states now were largely represented.

An Act of Congress in 1813 granted the right to settle by preemption upon the public domain. Before this time immigrants in four cases out of five had merely squatted upon the land. Illinois was admitted to the Union in 1818, having then an established population of 40,000. Nineteen-twentieths of the residents were Americans and except for a few from Pennsylvania were nearly all of southern origin. These indelibly stamped their peculiarities upon all of southern Illinois.¹⁰ The summer of 1825 witnessed much change in the population drift toward central and northern Illinois. By this time the peoples from the New England states made up much of the immigration to Northern and Central Illinois.

The influence of the two predominant culture types in the colonial states was made apparent in these early colonizations of the State of Illinois especially in the governmental organization. The county form of government came from the Virginias where eight counties were organized in 1634. The early settlers in these states soon became large landed proprietors and aped the judicial and social dignitaries of the landed aristocracy of old England, where a few influential men managed the whole business of the community. Illinois, which had been a part of Virginia, retained the county system of government in the first decades of the nineteenth century; this system was formally extended over the state by the Constitution of 1818.

The township form of government, on the other hand, reflected the Puritan influence of New England, where in 1635 the general court carrying out the desires of

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 294 to 296.

the Puritans for freedom, gave self-government to particular towns with respect to things that concerned only themselves. The township form of government was adopted by the first constitution of Connecticut in 1639 and became universal throughout New England, going west with immigrants into the northern parts of Illinois. The six-mile square township, characterizing the governmental organization in northern and in central Illinois, was also of New England origin. The general court of Massachusetts in 1732 granted six miles square for a township to be settled by 60 families, saving one share each of the 36 for the first settled minister and one for the school. On May 20, 1785, soon after the ratification of the treaty ceding the western lands to the Government, Congress passed an ordinance to survey the territory in ranges, towns, and sections, the townships to be 6 miles square with 36 sections.

Provision for the first township in Illinois was made in 1790 by an act of Governor St. Clair. Each county was to be divided by the justices of the court into quarter sections or townships with "such bounds, natural or imaginary, as shall appear to be most proper and for each of which a constable was to be appointed."¹¹ These were election districts which later were termed precincts.

In the laws under the Constitution of 1818, counties were organized upon the Virginia model. Congress had, on the other hand, divided the state into townships and had given one section in each to school purposes. To give effect to this provision the state enacted a law making the township a body corporate for school purposes. Soon in the natural course of events the county election district came to

coincide with the school township, and constables, justices of the peace, road supervisors, and overseers of the poor had their jurisdiction determined by these same township lines. Finally, after a number of years of struggle in the legislature, the Illinois constitutional convention of 1847 provided for passage of a law to enable any county to form a township for purposes of government. This was a compromise measure. The southern counties were against it, the northern wanted to make it mandatory. The counties along the Mississippi and along the Indiana border were against the measure, while the centrally located counties voted for it.¹²

The two types of culture which developed in the colonial states came into conflict, also, over the slavery and free school issues in Illinois.

The first slaves were brought into Illinois in 1713 by Francois Renault, manager of a company of adventurers who were interested in developing the lead mines in Jo Daviess County. Renault brought 500 slaves to St. Phillip, hoping that he could use them in the development of the lead mines later on. After the Treaty of Paris, England guaranteed the inhabitants all rights and privileges heretofore enjoyed by them. The colonists, also, upon their taking possession, gave the same privileges. Hence slavery remained as one of the privileged institutions.

The compact of 1787 was finally passed as an ordinance in Congress after the resolutions in 1784 and 1786 to provide the people of the Northwest Territory with governmental protection had failed. It provided for the exclusion of slavery from the territory now known as Wisconsin, Michigan, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois; for public schools, giving one township for a

¹¹ Mason H. Newell, *Township Government in Illinois*. Publication No. 9 of the Historical Library, Illinois, 1904, pp. 467-481.

¹² Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

seminary and every section numbered 16 for public schools; and for prohibiting the adoption of any constitution or amendment of any law that would nullify pre-existing contracts. New England merchants favored the plan, for they were desirous of exchanging governmental certificates of indebtedness, then not marketable, into land of which the government had a great sufficiency. Congress was anxious to erase as much of her debt as possible and the Congressmen from the southern states were not unwilling, realizing that the new territory might grow cotton and tobacco with slave labor in competition with their own products. This action followed closely upon the Revolutionary War period when Edmund Burke, Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, and Benjamin Franklin were using their influence to revolutionize public sentiment. Old ideas of the prerogative of kings, hereditary rights, and class legislation with their attendant train of suffering and oppression were shown to be untenable.

It was in line, therefore, that the new provinces, lately acquired by the general government, should be given all the benefits, social, political, and educational, derived from an enlarged view of freedom and culture, and should have embodied in their fundamental law religious liberty, the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, the trial by jury, the establishment of common law, the right to bail, that fines should be moderate, that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property without due process of law and that full compensation should be made for private property taken for public uses. Provisions in the compact for which the New England merchants contended were free and unconditional alienation of the public lands by the general government and the equal distribution of estates among the

descendants of intestates and their disposition by will, as against the English laws of primogeniture, and the alienation of real estate by lease and release or bargain and sale by deed in fee simple.¹³

The provision in the compact which did most to intensify the conflict between the immigrants from New England and those from the slave states, was, obviously, the one which excluded slavery from the territory. Several attempts were made by the southern element in Illinois to have this article prohibiting slavery taken out. It held through one stormy session of an Illinois constitutional convention, however, as well as these previous attempts to have it annulled. It thus reflected the Puritan influence in protecting Illinois against slavery.

The conflict between the two types of culture on the Atlantic coast in the struggle for free schools was not so intense. The origin of the Puritan influence favoring free schools may be attributed to Samuel Hartlib in the days of the Commonwealth in England who proposed a plan for instruction in agricultural pursuits, stock growing, and the study and management of soils, etc., in connection with popular education.¹⁴ However, Thomas Budd, who came from England in 1678, issued a treatise in 1685 favoring the requirement that all children should receive at least seven years schooling which should include both literary and mechanical study, claiming that a thousand acres of land should be set aside for each school and that children of poor and of Indians should receive free schooling.

¹³ Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 190 to 191. "This celebrated enactment, justly distinguished as the great 'American charter', . . . was in the nature of a compact and was older than the constitution itself. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹⁴ Paul Selby, *The Part of Illinois in the National Education Movement, 1851-1862*. Publication No. 9 of the Historical Library, Illinois, 1904, p. 215.

It was not until 1855 when the southern colonial influence became considerably weakened that a free school law was passed in the State of Illinois.¹⁵

From 1835 until the present time there has been a general movement of European peoples into the State of Illinois. In the period of the 1840's, especially when conditions in Europe were particularly unsettled, colonies such as the one at Bishop Hill settled by Swedish people looking for religious freedom, the Mormon colony at Nauvoo and later the Amish colonies were the most objective evidence of the foreign element in the state. The census of 1890 indicated that not less than 15 per cent of the population of 23 northern Illinois counties were of foreign born parents. The countries from which the foreign element for the rural sections in these counties came were principally Germany, the Scandinavian countries, and to some extent France, Belgium, and Switzerland. Many of the Dutch, Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, German and French were Evangelical Lutherans. In 1894 there were 400 preachers in Illinois making use of the English, German, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Finnish and Hungarian languages.¹⁶ These various culture groups aligned themselves differently on different issues going to make up the laws of the state:

By 1880 the population of the several counties of the St. Louis area was largely of German derivation. They were influential enough to cause German to be taught in the schools.

The teaching of foreign languages in public schools called forth a sentiment from the southern element (Democratic) favoring passage of a bill in the Legislature restricting the studies in all public schools to the English branches.¹⁷

¹⁵ Publication No. 10 of the Historical Library of Illinois, 1905, p. 335.

¹⁶ Moses, *op. cit.*, pp. 553-570.

¹⁷ Bogart and Thompson, *Some Aspects of Social Life in Illinois, 1870-1876*, Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. 4, p. 32.

In 1874 the question of admitting Negroes to common schools aroused a great deal of political and sectional bitterness, particularly on the part of the Virginia stock in Southern Illinois.

The reading of the Bible in schools was objected to by certain culture groups: Dr. Samuel Fallows, the Reformed Episcopal Rector, argued for the entire separation of Church and State, while the Reverend C. L. Thompson, a Presbyterian clergyman, claimed that while the schools were supported by taxpayers it was unfair to compel "Children of Romans and Jews to engage in a form of worship in which they did not believe."

The Anti-Temperance Law Convention called at Springfield on March 14, 1872, was heavily attended by Cook County and downstate Germans. German opposition went so far that the Illinois "Staats Zeitung" urged its readers to vote for no man who was not pledged to vote for repeal of the law. All over the state, on the other hand, Temperance Club organizations were in evidence showing the allegiance of the Methodists and the Catholics with the cause.

The difference which was accorded to foreign groups afforded fuel to old Know-nothing fires among the native Americans which in turn aroused a species of foreign Know-nothingism: The Swedish citizens of Henry County in a mass meeting at Galva protested at the charge "that they had been petted, deferred to, courted and fooled round long enough" and that they "were after all the offices and fat places." The Irish also indignantly denied the imputation of know-nothingism.¹⁸

The Republican Party was formed out of anti-slavery agitators and sympathizers, Whigs, Democrats, Know-nothings, and Abolitionists, meeting in mass at Bloomington on May 29, 1856 with no representation from 30 counties, most of these being in the southern portions of the state. Among the first planks were: favoring liberty of conscience as well as political freedom, and proscribing no one on account of religious opinions or in consequence of place of birth. It first named a man of German birth as candidate for governor.¹⁹

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-52, *passim*.

¹⁹ Moses, *op. cit.*, p. 563.

The influence on social organization of various types of culture groups coming from Europe could be seen clearly with relation to the church situation. One settlement of eighty families in Illinois had fourteen sects; one town of 800 inhabitants had eight denominations. Missionaries of certain churches in New England soon began to class together the forms that seemed to them most disastrous.²⁰ "Romanism, Arionism, Universalism, Deism, and almost every division prevailed." The vestiges of these influences can still be observed in Illinois; many of the small towns of the state have in them churches of several denominations, too many to be adequately supported by the population.²¹

Contrasts could be found in the social organization of several communities peopled by different culture groups. Professor Hiller of the University of Illinois supervised several studies of this nature. One, comparing an East Frisian with a French Canadian settlement, indicated that the East Frisians brought with them from the Old World folk ways closely akin to those found in the Dutch and Anglo-Saxon groups. Outstanding features of their traditions were love of the home stead and sentimental attachment to the soil and to farming as a vocation. With these traits were linked a belief in the dignity of work and an opposition to roving. Their attitudes have been preserved through two generations by an efficient community organization. . . . Opposite conditions prevailed in the other community. . . . Here there was less homogeneity and the residents lacked efficient coöperation, especially in securing a sound economic basis.²²

²⁰ Publication No. 10, Historical Library, Illinois, 1095, p. 326.

²¹ Edmund de S. Brunner, and J. H. Kolb, *Rural Social Trends*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, p. 209.

²² E. T. Hiller, et al., *Rural Community Types*, The

The influence of specific culture groups has not been so apparent in recent years. There have been fewer and fewer foreign-born in proportion to the total population in the state as time went on. There was only one county; namely, Cook, which reported more than twenty-five per cent foreign-born population in 1920. In 1930 there were only four reporting more than twenty per cent foreign-born white in the rural-farm population, namely, Cook, Lake, DuPage, and Kane, all in the Chicago area.

The influence of culture groups still can be detected in the rural community not only relative to political and religious organization, however. They are apparent also in the facility with which local farmer organizations advance. Present research in rural sociology at the University of Illinois indicates, for example, that in the organization of 4-H club work in the state, children of foreign-born parents are not as prevalently members of 4-H clubs as are those of native-born parents. In areas of heavy concentration of the foreign-born of one culture type, the influence on farm organization, moreover, is quite marked. German Catholics of one community in Illinois supported a certain type of farm organization almost to the last man after its most influential leaders had been convinced of the value of the organization.

The fact, however, that few new foreign-born are coming into rural communities at present makes for a decreasing degree of influence by any particular culture group. "With increasing outside contacts individuals are beginning to feel less bound to their local group. . . . The younger generation . . . feel the prestige of the behavior ways prevailing in the general public."²³ Farmers in a particular locality, whether of German, Yankee,

University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol XVI, No. 4, Dec., 1928, pp. 11-12.

²³ E. T. Hiller, et al., *op cit.*, pp. 12.

or Scandinavian derivation, are all quite likely to be represented in a particular farmer organization.²⁴ The conflicts arising between types of groups are more in evidence as between rural and urban, for example, over the matter of a satisfactory tax base or between adherents to a particular belief as to proper methods of farm relief.²⁵

²⁴ There are farm bureaus organized in 96 and serving 100 of the 102 counties in the state which count over 60,000 or more than a third of the farmers of the state in their membership.

²⁵ The direct action movements of certain groups

Nevertheless, an understanding of the nature, habits, customs, and mores of culture groups represented in any population is essential for the understanding of the nature, functions, and effectiveness of any particular type of social organization.

of farmers in Illinois in 1932 and 1933 against mortgage foreclosures, for example, were concentrated largely in Kankakee, Douglas, Hancock, and Randolph counties. Kankakee is in Northwest Illinois, Douglas in East Central, Hancock in West Central, and Randolph in Southern Illinois.

THE BANKHEAD-JONES FARM TENANCY BILL

At a conference of the National Committee on Small Farm Ownership, held in Washington, April 19, 1935, the following statement concerning the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Bill was adopted:

No greater problem confronts our rural community than the persistent growth of farm tenancy. Nearly one-half of all our farmers are now tilling land owned by others, and if the present tendency towards converting the independent farmer into a dependent and propertyless tenant continues, then we must abandon hope of achieving a stable and progressive rural civilization. No satisfactory rural community can be either developed or maintained on a tenancy basis. In eight of our States farm tenants represent more than 60 per cent of all farm operators. Nor is the problem a sectional one. Ten of the wheat and corn belt States show from one-third to one-half of the farms operated by tenants, and even in such western States as Montana and Idaho one-fourth of the farm operators are tenants. Nor is the problem a racial one. There are three times as many white as Negro tenants in the United States, and even in the South there are twice as many white as colored farm tenants.

In view of all of these facts we consider the proposed bill for the gradual conversion of the tenant into a landowner as one of the most important and constructive pieces of legislation ever voted upon by the Congress of the United States, and the National Committee on Small Farm Ownership takes this formal occasion to commend Senator Bankhead for bringing the problem of farm tenancy in the United States before the American Congress, and expresses the hope that the bill which is now before the Senate will be adopted. If passed it will make possible the growth of a secure and prosperous rural community that owns the land it tills and that can develop to the fullest its share of the great American heritage.

The members of the Committee are: Mr. George Foster Peabody, Chairman; Dr. W. W. Alexander, Director, Commission on Interracial Cooperation; Rev. W. Howard Bishop, Past President, National Catholic Rural Life Conference; Dr. Edwin R. Embree, President, Julius Rosenwald Fund; Dr. Ivan Lee Holt, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; Mr. William Green, American Federation of Labor; Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Mr. F. E. Murphy, *The Tribune*, Minneapolis, Minnesota; Dr. Howard W. Odum, The University of North Carolina; Mr. Charlton Ogburn, Counsel, American Federation of Labor; Professor Frank O'Hara, Catholic University; Dr. Clarence Poe, Editor, *The Progressive Farmer*, Raleigh, North Carolina; Mr. B. Kirk Rankin, Editor, *Southern Agriculturist*, Nashville, Tennessee; Rev. Edgar Schmiedeler, Director, Rural Life Bureau, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Mr. M. W. Thatcher, The Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union of America; Mr. Cal Ward, The Farmers Educational and Coöperative Union of America; Mr. Innis Hubert; Mr. Donald Comer, Avondale Mills, Birmingham, Alabama; Mr. Clark Howell, Editor, *The Atlanta Constitution*; Mr. Frank O. Lowden of Illinois; Mr. John B. Miller, President, Farmers Coöperative Council; Major Robert Russa Moton, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama; Rt. Rev. John A. Ryan, National Catholic Welfare Conference; Mr. Edgar B. Stern, New Orleans; Mr. Louis J. Taber, President, The National Grange; Gen. Robert E. Wood, President, Sears Roebuck, Chicago, Illinois.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE CASE FOR TAX-SUPPORTED SOCIAL WORK

JUNE PURCELL GUILD

Virginia Union University

THE pre-depression social worker has been accustomed to regard tax-supported welfare activities with suspicion, irritation and complaint. Many now find themselves seriously conflicted: they must urge the spending of more and more public money but how continue to justify their private agency programs to community chest and other voluntary private givers? How raise millions for private social work with the government the most generous good neighbor of the day? How set the stage so that the government will withdraw the instant the private agency believes it can resume its pristine vigor?

Of course, the disapproving attitude toward public social work of many professional social workers and their lay brothers has never been really consistent nor has it been based on full understanding of historical backgrounds. Even before the depression there was a relentless demand that more and more public money be spent in many service fields. The clamor never ceased for increased public expenditures for such activities as hospitals for the mentally diseased and deficient, pensions for widowed mothers—or for war veterans—, probation service, greater state participation in workmen's compensation

funds, tax-supported programs for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis, playgrounds for children and so on and on. But always accompanying the desire to see the government expand its welfare program there has been fear, censure, and dislike of its activities. With the government rapidly enlarging its program in every social line, social workers are hopelessly confused as to what their attitude should be. Some are panic-stricken about agency identity and job security. Fortunately an increasing number are willing to advocate a permanent, all-inclusive public welfare program.

But until now not many social workers have had the courage to defend the "poor doctor" and ask for more social medicine, to argue that relief and rehabilitation of dependent families may be entrusted safely to tax-supported agencies, to regard the care of homeless and transient people as essentially a public function, to know that unemployment and health insurance are inevitable. Nevertheless antedated only by church benevolences the responsibility of the government for the protection and welfare of its citizens is an ancient and honorable legal precedent. Much public social work has been and is wasteful, mechanical, unprogressive. But why?

Probably, because too few have believed in public social work strongly enough to be determined to improve it. Too few have been willing to admit the handicaps and imperfections of private social work.

The facts are illuminating. Public social work has always been a regular part of American social and legal institutions. Indeed, present public welfare legislation is only superficially different from old common law brought to these shores by the colonists. Beginning in 1351 with the English Statute of Laborers there have been endless enactments to control and care for the poor, "sturdy beggars," wanderers—called transients today—followed by the opening in London of two public hospitals for the sick poor in 1546, the Bridewell in 1553 for the care of the able-bodied unemployed, the first public tax levy for poor relief in 1572, the Elizabethan Poor Law in 1601 which recognized the needs of dependent children, adults without support, the lame, the old, the blind. The late fifteen hundreds and the early sixteen hundreds saw the passage of laws amazingly similar to the NRA, laws that attempted to regulate employer-employee relationships, agriculture, industry, apprenticeship, quality of goods, prices, imports, combinations, middlemen. For example, beginning in 1629, Virginia made several futile efforts to limit the size of the tobacco crop so that the markets would not be gutted and values reduced. The greatest danger in the present expansion of public social work is that anyone should think the government is going too far in the protection of its citizens. Welfare history is merely repeating itself today with discouraging lack of progress.

Unemployment and poverty, public almshouses, poor relief, and public social work of infinite variety are interwoven in all English and American law and history. Let's be done pretending we can

get along without public social work or that as a people we are against it. We have never gotten along without it; short of a new social order we never shall. It is high time to accept the facts as they are and turn our energies full-steam ahead, toward extending, developing, and improving the public service. Relief laws should be modernized and codified; administration should be reorganized, federal, state and local responsibilities carefully defined. With growing awareness of social problems, public social work can become as successful as public education through a system of honorary offices, compulsory employment of trained personnel including possibly civil service and state licensing of social workers, public records and reports, constant publicity, centralized state supervision. Properly safe-guarded there is no intrinsic reason why public social work may not be in every way *at least* as humane, scientific, forward-looking as private social work. Public social work, unlike the private species need not be hampered by sectarian competition, racial inequalities, cruel lack of resources.

Funds for public social work are obtained rateably according to wealth and income from all who possess taxable property. Social problems are so stupendous and affect so intimately the well-being of every citizen that their alleviation cannot safely be left to the so-called voluntary gifts of a few moved by pity, sentiment, or a desire to buy admiration, gratitude, or rewards after death. There has never been much certainty in the support of private social work even when the powerful community chest has done the begging. And when need is greatest the privately supported agency has the least to spend. For instance, the amount subscribed to community chests in the country in the 1933 campaigns fell approximately \$25,000,000.00 under the previous year.

Naturally community chest contributors who are paying large tax assessments for welfare activities are less and less willing to support duplicating or unnecessary private agencies. Chest and other contributors to private recreation or "character-building" agencies are wondering more and more why public playgrounds, parks and schools are not character-building in a real sense and why Christian associations and scout organizations which never do much for the so-called under-privileged should ask support of those who neither

TABLE I
EXPENDITURES FOR RELIEF

EXPENDITURES	JANUARY-JUNE, 1933	JANUARY-JUNE, 1934
Total.....	\$232,848,592	\$258,614,787
From public funds.....	214,604,641	250,616,672
Direct relief.....	138,541,504	171,786,967
Work relief.....	55,700,254	59,051,768
Mothers' aid.....	11,412,730	11,263,340
Aged aid.....	7,827,982	7,346,359
Blind aid.....	1,122,171	1,168,238
From private funds.....	18,243,951	7,998,115
Direct relief.....	12,870,478	7,200,468
Work relief.....	5,373,473	797,647

use them nor particularly approve their methods and objectives.

Federal reports show that some types of social work have all but disappeared during the depression. From April 1932 to the same month 1933 expenditures by private relief agencies dropped 49 per cent and expenditures from public funds increased 105 per cent. Between the months of April 1933 and 1934 the amount of relief administered by private agencies decreased 75 per cent. In April of this year 3 per cent of expenditures for relief was financed from private sources; in April of the preceding year private agencies spent 7 per cent of the relief money of the coun-

try. In May 1934 of \$52,718,000.00 spent for relief by agencies reporting to the Federal Children's Bureau less than a million and a half came from private sources. Table I based on Children's Bureau figures furnished by 120 cities shows clearly the trend toward public relief expenditures for the first six months of 1934 as compared to 1933.

Although Children's Bureau figures are the best available on the growing importance of public social work they tell only a part of the story because of the relatively small number of cities reporting. The staggering load has swamped, in many instances eliminated altogether, private relief agencies. Some may argue this is a "temporary" or "emergency" condition and that private agencies will revamp their programs and come back stronger than ever. Perhaps so, but why? What can the private agency do for the indigent sick or unemployed citizen that his government cannot do? If those who say that the government cannot do "constructive work" would back a movement to urge public agencies to adopt approved technical standards of social study and treatment professional social workers now employed by private agencies would soon be working for tax-supported departments. Incidentally some clients would eat more regularly.

No one may foretell with certainty but it appears that private social work except in pioneering, propagandizing, or supplementing fields is nearing its end. No one knows how much private social work has cost. The amount is so large however that the failure of the private agency to carry on satisfactorily during the depression is but added proof of the fundamental weakness in individualistic social endeavor. Community chest cities raised over \$100,000,000.00 in 1932. In New York City where there is no chest

approximately 2500 private agencies were spending annually about \$60,000,000.00 before 1929. Recently the same city for public relief alone has been spending about \$200,000,000.00 a year. Probably the amount spent for operating expenses by private agencies before the depression would total about half a billion dollars exclusive of hundreds of millions raised annually for capital investment. But large as the private social work bill has been it has never been more than a fraction of the federal, state, county, and city bill for the care of dependents, defectives, diseased, disabled even before the present orgy of public spending. Since the depression the volume of public institutional care for the aged, chronically ill, and the indigent has greatly increased. Old age pensions, hardly more than a sociological phrase in the United States in 1929 have gained considerable headway; in 1933 fifty thousand cases a month received public aid of this type. The number of cases receiving mothers' aid increased 44 per cent between 1929 and 1933.

Nursery work for children, once one of the best money-getters in the private agency field, has been decreasing; many nurseries have closed during the depression. The federal government, on the other hand, has gone into nursery school work extensively. Federal statistics show that last April 2,633,574 meals and 932,118 lodgings were provided homeless and transient persons by the agencies reporting. The number of such persons given care was ten times larger in 1933 than 1929, an overwhelming burden for religious missions and the Salvation Army. Government transient bureaus, staffed in many cities with trained social case workers have been carrying the load. Travelers' aid societies in 1933 handled 32 per cent fewer cases than in 1929.

What of socialized medicine? The

ground work is laid. The report on the Costs of Medical Care states that government hospitals contain 63 per cent of the patient beds available in the country. Federal figures show that home visits by city and county physicians increased 336 per cent between 1929-1932.

The responsibility of the state for the welfare of the child is found in the legal theory of *parens patriae*. Tens of thousands of state charges have been bound out, placed in privately managed orphanages on public subsidies, or in almshouses—where many of them remain. Children's work whether public or private has been notoriously bad, nearly always handicapped by underfinancing. With the development of state boards of public welfare and children's guardians, the publicly supported care of children is increasing qualitatively and quantitatively. Reliable figures on the total amount of public and private support of children are practically unobtainable. All available figures indicate a trend toward increased public support. The News Bulletin of Community Chests and Councils, Inc., for February, 1935 states that one-half of all the dependent and neglected children in the state of Pennsylvania are supported in whole or part from public funds. A report for 1932 shows that 83 per cent of the total disbursements in New York state for the care of dependent children came from public funds and 17 per cent from private philanthropy. As part of the social security program, Congress now has under consideration appropriations aggregating \$33,500,000.00 for various types of services for children.

The National Recreation Association estimates that 81 per cent of the amount spent for public recreation comes from taxation, 14 per cent from fees and charges, and 5 per cent from private sources.

Private social work, never more than a

putterer in the field of human relations, has been steadily losing prestige during the depression. And what of the future? Will the depression disappear? Will pre-depression agencies and support return? Who knows? Whatever the answers, it should not be forgotten this is the fourth major depression in twenty-five years. As

a social worker I should like to see my group recognize the utterly indispensable and comprehensive character of public social work and advocate a permanent, well-rounded, carefully integrated and technically standard public welfare program to carry on during and between depressions, in every field of human need.

SOCIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN OLD AGE DEPENDENCY

ROBERT AXEL

New York State Department of Social Welfare

THE complex problem of the care and support of the more than 3,000,000 aged persons in the United States and the sociological factors underlying old age dependency today have become of increasing concern to both public and private social agencies.

In New York State alone there are approximately 396,000 men and women 70 years of age, or over, many of whom have been deprived of the means of making a living because of the prolonged economic depression. Moreover, this proportion of aged persons has been mounting steadily due to such factors as decreasing birth and death rates, restrictions of immigration and the general increase in population.

Their plight has been still further intensified because of modern industry's preference for youth and a tendency to eliminate the older age groups from hazardous occupations for the purpose of minimizing the cost of compensation.

Such a critical situation confronting these unfortunate individuals points to the need of a continued study of the extent of the problem and the various factors involved in old age dependency for the purpose of determining the methods of care that will effect the best possible adjustment.

In European countries destitute aged not in need of institutional care are supported and cared for, in varying degree, through direct relief payments or through health or unemployment insurance.

In this country, legislation for the care of the aged has been enacted in 28 states.¹ In some, including California, Massachusetts, New Jersey and New York the application of the law is on a state-wide basis although local in administration. However, in these states, there is state supervision and participation in the cost of support.

In New York State, relief is provided under the supervision of the State Department of Social Welfare, the State reimbursing the several public welfare districts to the extent of one half of the cost of relief furnished. The law is administered by the public welfare officials of the fifty-seven county and five city public welfare districts, as established under the Public Welfare Law, and by public welfare officials of sixteen other cities (also the

¹ Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, Wyoming.

Town of Union in Broome County) which have elected to administer the law separately from the counties in which they are located. These cities are regarded as separate public welfare districts from the standpoint of the administration of old age relief.

To determine the various contributing factors in old age dependency, the amount of relief granted and reasons for the denial of applications for relief, the New York State Department of Social Welfare recently completed a study of 20,473 applications received during 1932 on which action had been taken up to the close of the study in May 1933. Disposition of some cases still was pending at that time, so that the number of approved and denied cases included in the survey is somewhat less than the total number of applications received during the year.

However, of the 20,473 applications referred to, only 52 per cent were approved. The remaining 48 per cent were denied primarily because investigation revealed that no public relief was needed. In these cases, the person had sufficient income, other assets were available to meet his permanent or immediate needs or legally responsible relatives were able to render financial assistance. Other reasons for denial were primarily concerned with the inability of the applicant to meet the legal requirements with reference to age, citizenship and residence, while in some instances the individual was found to be in need of institutional care or might make a better adjustment in an institution. In still other cases, applications had been withdrawn, death had intervened or the investigation had not been completed for various reasons.

Of the total number of applications received 9,414 (46 per cent) were filed in New York City and 11,059 (54 per cent), in other public welfare districts. Of the

10,641 approved applications, 4,735 (44.5 per cent) were granted in New York City and 5,906 (55.5 per cent) in the remainder of the State.

There has been a decrease in the proportion of applications granted during the past two years. In 1932, 52 per cent of the applications were approved and 48 per cent were denied. However, of the total number of applications received during the period September 1, 1930 to April 30, 1931, 74 per cent were granted compared with 26 per cent denied. The larger proportion of denied applications is mainly due to more thorough social investigation and changes in standards in the administration of old age relief.

SEX DISTRIBUTION

Of the 10,641 cases approved, 5,065 (47.6 per cent) were males and 5,576 (52.4 per cent) were females. The difference in sex distribution is entirely due to the larger proportion of female recipients in New York City; in the remaining areas of the State the sexes were almost equally represented. The sex distribution of the recipients was approximately the same as that for similar age groups in the general population of the State.

Calculations based on the 1930 census² of the United States indicate that of the total number of persons in New York State who were 65 years of age or over, 46.9 per cent were males and 53.1 per cent were females. In this census the older age groups, 35 years and over, are indicated on a decennial basis. In comparisons of sociological facts concerning the recipients with those for the general state population, it is assumed that the distribution of certain characteristics for the population 65 years of age and over will not be

² Fifteenth Census of United States: 1930; Population, Volume III, Part 2.

substantially different from that of the general group of 70 years and over.

In New York City, according to figures compiled by the New York Census Committee,³ the sex ratios of the recipients and those of the general population were almost identical, the percentage of females 70 years and over being 55.5 and 55.4 respectively. In this census, the age groups are indicated on a quintennial basis.

Among both the recipients and the aged population in New York State, the female group was considerably larger than the male group, despite the fact that the total female population (comprising all ages) was slightly smaller than the male population.

The larger proportion of women in the aged group is probably due, in part, to the greater occupational hazards to which men are exposed. It is also possible that the influx of a large proportion of the younger male population until recent restrictions in immigration, has reduced the general age level of the male group.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

The bulk of the old age relief group constituting 9,446 individuals, or 88.9 per cent, was from 70 to 79 years of age, 7,239 of them being under 75 years. The general age level of the approved cases in New York City was appreciably lower than that in the remaining areas of the State. In this City, 3,520 recipients (74.4 per cent) were under 75 years of age as compared with 3,719 persons (63.1 per cent) in the remainder of the State. However, 25.6 per cent, or 1,210, of the New York City cases were 75 years of age or over as compared with 36.9 per cent, or 2,180, in the remaining areas.

Comparative age groups of the recipi-

³ Population of the City of New York, 1890-1930; New York Census Committee, Ind.; Edited by Walter Laidlaw.

ents and the general population are available only for New York City where 74.4 per cent of the old age relief group were from 70 through 74 years of age as compared with 56.4 per cent in the general city population, 70 years of age and over. On the other hand, 26.7 per cent of the New York City population, 70 years of age and over, were from 75 through 79 years of age as against 17.7 per cent of the old age relief group. A higher proportion of individuals for the City as a whole was shown in each age classification, 75 years or over, as compared with the recipient population.

The lower age level of the recipients as compared with the total age group in New York City is probably due to the placement of many persons who have reached an advanced age in homes for the aged, public homes and in institutions for chronic ailments. Particular reference is made here to those persons who, because of extreme old age, presented physical problems requiring medical or nursing care.

COLOR

The recipients of old age relief comprised 10,225 white persons, or 96.3 per cent of the group, 391 Negroes, or 3.7 per cent, and a very small number of Indians. The proportion of Negroes among the recipients in New York City (6.2 per cent) was markedly larger than that in the remainder of the State (1.6 per cent).

There was a larger percentage of Negroes in the old age relief group than in the general aged population of the State, the difference being particularly marked in New York City. The Negro population in the State (70 years of age and over) constituted only 1.1 per cent of the total population and in New York City the ratio was 1.8. The larger proportion of Negroes in the recipient group is probably

due to their lower economic status with the result that a relatively larger number are dependent upon public aid.

NATIVITY OF RECIPIENTS

Most of the recipients of old age relief were of native birth. Of the total group 7,378 or 69.4 per cent were born in the United States and 3,263, the remaining 30.6 per cent, were born in other countries. Of the latter, Germany is most prominently represented, followed by Ireland, Italy, Great Britain, Russia, Canada, Poland, Roumania and others. A larger proportion of native-born is indicated for areas outside of New York City. Of the total recipients, 2,636 (55.8 per cent) of the native-born resided in New York City as compared with 4,742 (80.4 per cent) in the remainder of the State. This situation may be attributed to the fact that a large proportion of immigrants in New York State settled in New York City, relatively few migrating to other parts of the State.

An interesting feature brought out in the study was that the percentage of native-born among the recipients is higher than that for the State as a whole. Only 59.4 per cent of the New York State population (65 years of age or over) were born in the United States as against 69.4 per cent of the old age relief group. The difference in ratios is even more accentuated in New York City, 55.8 per cent of the recipients being born in the United States as compared with 36.9 per cent for the general aged population. The larger proportion of native-born among the recipients is primarily due to the fact that those persons of foreign birth who had not acquired citizenship were not eligible for old age relief.

NATIVITY OF PARENTS

The nativity of the parents of the group studied shows the same tendency as that

of the old age relief group. The proportion of persons who had native-born parents, both in the entire State and in New York City is larger than that for the population as a whole, according to the 1930 census of the United States. Among the recipients in the State, the percentage of native parentage was 38.3 as compared with 36.1 for the total population. In New York City, the percentage of native-born parents among the group studied was 22.9 as against 17.0 among the general population. The reason for the larger proportion of native parentage among the recipients of old age relief is the same as that indicated as regards the nativity of the cases studied. The factor of citizenship as a requirement for the receipt of old age security would tend to eliminate the non-naturalized foreign-born, nearly all of whom are of foreign parentage.

RELIGION

Of the cases studied, 6,221 (59.5 per cent) were Protestants; 3,459 (33.1 per cent), Roman Catholics; 721 (7.0 per cent), Jews; and 50, or 0.4 per cent, were of other religions or professed no religion. The proportion of Protestants in New York City was considerably lower than that in the remainder of the State, while the reverse situation obtained for the Roman Catholic group. The Jewish group was almost entirely limited to New York City, less than one per cent being indicated for the remaining areas of the State.

CIVIL STATUS

Approximately one third of the cases examined, 3,675 or 34.5 per cent, were married persons while 1,034 (9.7 per cent) were never married. Widowed persons constituted nearly one-half of the total recipients—5,204, or 48.9 per cent. That it is doubtful whether marital difficulties were primarily responsible for old age

dependency is indicated by the fact that in only 728 cases (6.9 per cent) had there been a divorce or separation.

Further analysis reveals that of the group studied, the proportion of married persons in New York City, numbering 1,523, was appreciably smaller than the 2,152 in the rest of the State. However, the incidence of divorce, separation or death of one spouse was higher in New York City. The proportion of unmarried persons in New York City numbering 409 was smaller than that in the remainder of the State, where 625 were listed.

HEALTH

As usually had been found the case among the aged, the group under consideration included a large number who required medical attention. For purposes of determining the physical condition of the recipients they were classified in three groups as healthy, frail or ill. Of the total number, 4,334 were found to be comparatively healthy; 5,281 were frail and 1,000 ill. This does not include 26 whose degree of health was not stated in available reports.

Compared with the rest of the State, the proportion of healthy applicants for relief in New York City was much lower, 1,542 (32.7 per cent) of the recipients in the Metropolis being so classified as against 2,792 (47.4 per cent) in the outside area. There were 2,721 frail recipients (57.6 per cent) in New York City as compared with 2,560 (43.4 per cent) in the rest of the State. However, the proportion of seriously ill persons in New York City, 459 or 9.7 per cent, was only slightly higher than in the remainder of the State—541 or 9.2 per cent.

This classification was not always based on a medical diagnosis. In many instances the nature of the health condition was based primarily on the judgment of

the social worker, taking into consideration the age of the individual. It should also be noted that, in the main, obvious physical disabilities rather than pathological conditions are here considered. One of the reasons for such a small proportion of serious disability among the group is the fact that in accordance with the law persons requiring institutional care are not eligible for old age relief.

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS

Only 15 per cent of the recipients, or 1,593, lived alone in rented apartments or in their own homes at the time of application for old age relief, the proportion of such lone dwellers in New York City (863 or 18.2 per cent) being larger than that in the remainder of the State—730 or 12.4 per cent. In 7,650⁴ cases (72 per cent) the aged lived with their relatives; 615, or 5.8 per cent, with friends; and 765, or 7.2 per cent, boarded with private families, resided in lodging houses or were cared for in institutions, such as county homes and hospitals.

In this connection, it should be noted that while an inmate of a public or private home may make application for old age relief this allowance, if granted, does not begin until the person has been discharged from the institution.

OCCUPATIONS

The previous usual occupations of the recipients classified by major industry indicate that approximately three fourths of the recipients had been gainfully employed, the remaining group comprising, in the main, housewives and those who had not been engaged in any occupation.

⁴ Of this number, 2,748 persons (25.9 per cent) lived with a spouse only; 506 (4.8 per cent), with spouse and children; 2,959 (27.8 per cent), with children only; and 1,437 (13.5 per cent), with other relatives.

In approximately two per cent of the cases the occupations were known but could not be related to any specific industry.

It is interesting to note that 99.1 per cent of the men, or 4,861, had been gainfully employed, the proportion among women being only 49.6 per cent, or 2,737 gainfully employed. The latter figure does not include 2,580 housewives, representing 46.6 per cent of the female group for whom data were available. The largest number of male recipients, 2,375, were employed in manufacturing and mechanical occupations, although a considerable number (750) were engaged in agriculture, forestry and fishery; 495, in trade and 590, in personal service. Among the women the most prevalent occupations were domestic and personal service, manufacturing and mechanical occupations.

Among the male recipients, the industries which were represented more often in New York City than in the remainder of the State included trade, professional service, domestic and personal service and clerical occupations. On the other hand, a smaller proportion of the male recipients in New York City were engaged in agriculture, manufacturing and mechanical trades.

A comparison of the distribution of occupations of the recipients with that of the general population, 65 years and over, in the State reveals some striking differences.

Of the 110,094 gainfully employed, according to the 1930 Census, a larger proportion of the general male population outside of New York City (37,922) was engaged in agriculture, transportation and communication, trade, public service, professional service and clerical occupations. Among the male recipients, however, a larger representation was indicated in the fields of manufacturing (1,548) and domestic and personal service (242). A similar situation prevailed in comparisons

of the occupational distribution of the female recipients with that of the total female group (65 years or over) for the entire State.

The basis of employment was indicated only for the 3,192 recipients in New York City. It was revealed that of the total group, 87.9 per cent or 2,805 had been employed by others on a wage or salary basis, while 387, or 12.1 per cent, were independent workers.

In general, there were relatively few persons of financial importance among the group, while on the other hand, many were found to be engaged in unskilled occupations, comprising laborers, handy-men, general factory hands, and others.

Analysis reveals that 13.6 per cent of the men (269) had been self-employed, the largest proportion of independent workers being engaged in trade, agriculture, professional service and in manufacturing. The independent workers among the females constituted 9.7 per cent (118) of those gainfully employed, this group being primarily engaged in manufacturing, professional service and trade. Among the men, a large proportion of the independent workers were small storekeepers, painters, carpenters, contractors and others. Among the women, many of the self-employed comprised dressmakers, hairdressers and milliners.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY

Analysis of data reveals that in 89 per cent of the cases (9,403) no real estate was owned by the recipient; in 905 cases (8.6 per cent) the real estate was valued at less than \$2,000, while, in only 2.4 per cent of the cases (257) was the value of property equal to \$2,000 or more. The proportion of real estate owners in New York City was smaller than that in the remainder of the State, the figures respectively being 4,732 and 5,833.

Total or partial depletion of funds is evidenced in the distribution of bank balances among the aged group. In 85 per cent of the cases (8,980 cases) there were no cash balances in the bank and in an additional 13.1 per cent (1,381 cases) the amounts were less than \$250.

Among 6,031 in the group (57 per cent) no life insurance was carried. In this category are included recipients who had never carried any insurance, those whose policies had expired and persons who were compelled to surrender their policies for financial reasons. The amount of life insurance carried by 3,770 persons was less than \$500, while only a small percentage of the group held insurance in excess of this amount. Proportionately more recipients in New York City carried insurance than in the remainder of the State.

Cognizance is taken of the fact that a person owning property may not be able to borrow on it and that it might be less economical to sell the property at a sacrifice and include in the person's relief budget the cost of rental to provide shelter for the recipient. The Public Welfare Law also provides for the recovery of all available assets valued at an amount expended by the public welfare district for relief given and for the acceptance of a deed or mortgage in suitable cases.

LEGALLY RESPONSIBLE RELATIVES

Analysis reveals that 7,964 of the recipients (75.2 per cent) had legally responsible relatives. In 37.9 per cent of the cases (4,012) there were children; in 29.1 per cent (3,075) a spouse and children; in 7.7 per cent (810) a spouse only. The remaining 0.5 per cent (67) comprised stepchildren, adopted children and grandchildren. It should be noted that where there were responsible relatives, grants were made because such relatives were financially unable to provide for the recipients.

PREVIOUS ASSISTANCE

Eight thousand and ninety-three, or 84.5 per cent of the group had not received previous assistance from social agencies while only 15.5 per cent of the recipients (1,484) had formerly been provided with home relief or institutional care. The proportion of the aged who had not received previous assistance was found to be much higher in New York City—4,346—than in the remaining areas of the State, where 3,747 were listed.

The industrial depression has undoubtedly removed the means of livelihood of many aged persons, while continued unemployment has also eliminated the possibility of financial assistance from legally responsible relatives.

AMOUNT OF GRANT

The initial monthly grants to persons who applied for old age relief during the calendar year 1932 ranged from less than \$10 to more than \$50, the average grant for the entire State being \$22.24. The average monthly allowance in New York City was \$26.81 as compared with \$18.60 for the remainder of the State. The larger grant in New York City is primarily due to the generally higher cost of living.

The amount of the monthly grant is determined through a study of individual cases and is dependent upon a multiplicity of factors including income from various sources, health, home conditions, marital status and others. In cases of partial self-support the allowance granted represents the difference between the total budget and the personal income of the recipient. Adjustments of grants are also effected among those assisted by legally responsible relatives.

SUMMARY

The foregoing is a cross-section of some of the sociological factors relating to old

age dependency. The fact that the entire group studied had reached the age of 70 years would seem to indicate that the recipients had, in the main, been in fairly good physical condition. Nearly all of the men and approximately one-half of the women had in the past been engaged in gainful employment, but relatively few had any tangible assets, real or personal, at the time of application for relief. It is thus apparent that social and economic conditions were primarily responsible for the plight of the aged, this condition

having been further aggravated by the continued industrial depression.

It is also noteworthy that 75.2 per cent of the recipients had legally responsible relatives; 67.0 per cent of the group had children. In recent years adverse economic conditions have reduced the income of a considerable proportion of the population. Nevertheless, legally responsible relatives generally provide a marked degree of security despite the fact that in some instances family difficulties may hamper the adjustment of the recipients.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRAINED SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

Professor F. Stuart Chapin, President of the American Sociological Society, has issued the following statement:

The Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel was appointed by the Social Science Research Council in December 1933, as an outgrowth of certain recommendations made by the Presidential Research Committee on Recent Social Trends. The Commission was assigned the task of inquiring into the status of public service and government employment.

It was found that there are about 175,000 independent units of government in the United States and that they employ approximately 3,250,000 public servants. But it was found also that public service has been unable to attract in general as capable men and women as private employment.

In its recently published summary of findings, *Better Government Personnel* (McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1935), the Commission comes out squarely for the recommendation that the "day-to-day administrative work of government be definitely made a career service." This very frank recommendation should be of much interest to sociologists who have been thinking in terms of professional outlets for competent men and women with graduate training in sociology. Heretofore, the sociologists who have entered public service have done so single handed and on their own, more or less like pioneers out in front of the main body which has hugged the traditional academic cloisters. With the federal government attempting to come to grips with the problems of the nation, many competent persons of sociological training have been called into the public service.

The commission also recommends that "the career service system" should be extended to local as well as to state and federal government units by the enactment of proper laws and ordinances and by the extension of existing civil service systems.

What technical service can sociologists render and what functions can they perform in government work which would make increasing room for trained specialists? What should their training and field experience be and how should courses in departments of sociology be reshaped to prepare and qualify persons for professional public service?

How can sociologists assist the Commission in carrying its recommendations into action? What practical suggestions can they make at this point of procedure? That we have a live interest in this general problem is certainly attested to by the fact that the program of the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1934 and the one for 1935 bear right on the point, and also by the fact that the Society has created a special committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists.

The Commission of Inquiry on Public Service Personnel has asked all professional organizations to render aid and give it the benefit of their serious thought and attention.

It occurs to me that it would be very helpful if sociologists as individuals, as members of departments or as students in graduate training could devote some time to the consideration of the Commission's findings and recommendations, and forward their reactions and suggestions to Dr. Walter C. Reckless, Chairman of the Society's Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. He will undertake to compile and analyze these suggestions and expressions of opinion and transmit them to the Commission. If the published report, *Better Government Personnel*, is not readily available for reference and study, a letter to Dr. Luther Gulick, Secretary of the Commission of Inquiry on

(Concluded on page 629)

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

DECENTRALIZATION OF INDUSTRY IN THE NEW DEAL

M. L. WILSON

United States Department of Agriculture

BEGINNING at about the time of the Napoleonic Wars, the growth of industrialism has changed profoundly the whole western world. The growth of this industrial civilization has been characterized partially by the shift of individuals and families from rural and village homes, to homes in the industrial cities and by an ever increasing specialization in occupations and functions. With this shift has developed many of the intricate problems of modern economic life which are the product of the intense complexity of our economic organization.

The shock of the industrial depression in these recent years has naturally stimulated criticism and the growth of skepticism with respect to our present industrial civilization. These expressions of dissatisfaction with the existing order take many different forms.

One of the many lateral buds which may or may not develop into a respectable branch on the growing tree of social evolution, is represented by the proposal for decentralization of industry and of industrial workers, making it possible for them to live on plots of land of such size as to provide them with an ability to contribute something to their family living and thus to open the way to a combination of in-

dustrial employment for a cash wage and part-time agricultural employment in the production of goods for consumption by the family of the producer.

This suggestion does not fall into any hard and fast mould. It has innumerable variations. It ranges all the way from proposals for stimulating the establishment of small industrial plants and scattering them through villages and small towns, where workers would live on town blocks in much the way as marks rural village life today. Then there are those who propose that the workers live on farms as they now exist, with one or more members of the family driving to and from work in automobiles or riding in buses. There are also suggestions under which the worker would live with his family on plots of land large enough to raise a garden, fruit, poultry, and perhaps keep a cow.

Social and economic historians frequently refer to any important unity in thought and proposals for action, held by a large or influential group of people, as a movement. I would hardly describe the proposals for decentralization of industry and population, with its complement of a semi-rural pattern of family living, as having reached the proportions of a movement

in this country. Certainly, it is not an organized movement. Further, there is not unity in the proposals. We are rather in the early stages of thinking about something which we might like to do.

There are a great number of people who are convinced that it has a wide range of possibilities and even a greater number of people who believe that it merits experiments and the most penetrating study and research. I think there can be no doubt of the necessity of much further and more intensive study before we can draw any hard and fixed conclusions.

Thus far, the subject has received a good deal of sympathetic consideration by people influential in industry, but I should not say that it has the aggressive support of industry although there are some segments of industry whose leadership seems more greatly interested than others. The interest manifested is to a large degree in ratio to the possibilities of industry advancing its own ambitions through decentralization. There has been no concerted opposition from agriculture but there has been a fear expressed by some groups of farmers that, should decentralization assume the proportions of an aggressive movement, the pattern of living associated with decentralization might reduce to some extent the farmers' market and therefore react adversely to the interests of family farmers throughout the country.

Widespread interest in decentralization at this time comes from three distinct sources.

First, from industry where there is widespread belief that the tendency of industry in the future will be for plants to spread the work among their employees and to reduce the house of labor employees. I will not discuss the validity of this proposal but it is clear that, rightly or wrongly, many believe that we are headed

in the direction of the thirty hour week. There is also a deep-seated feeling that there will be much more occupational obsolescence and that even in times of comparatively high industrial production in the future there will be a substantial group of chronically unemployed. Furthermore, there is recognition of the possibilities of the problem of the aged and the incapacitated among workers in industry growing from year to year rather than declining. In any event, there is the feeling that there will be a considerable amount of leisure time among workers in industry and that this amount of time will increase rather than decrease in years to come.

Since we live in a money economy in which the worker exchanges his productive labor for money, he must have a market for this labor if he is to exchange it for other goods and services. If, however, there is no market for his labor which fits into this system of exchange, then there are many who feel that the laborer and his family had better use their unsold and unsalable energy to produce something for their own consumption.

If we are to have shorter working hours, and if we are to have large groups of people who seem not to fit into the money economy, then the question arises whether we can use our ingenuity and social inventiveness to make a kind of adjustment which will allow families opportunities of maintaining the dignity which goes with independent American family life. Such an adjustment would contemplate a standard of living which would have a reasonably high degree of well being and a more substantial degree of security than would be made possible by complete dependence upon the workings of the money economy.

There are those who believe that many of the gains which have been supposedly accruing through highly specialized mass

production have been off-set by the cost of transportation and distribution. This group argues that this is true of many of the basic requirements of life. They contend that it is especially true in many lines of production, which may be conducted in homes today through use of family size machinery comparable to the devices employed in mass production. They say that this is especially true in the field of food preservation, in some lines of clothing manufacture, and certain products susceptible to home manufacture.

In other words, these hold that we have piled up a tremendous overhead cost in moving towards highly specialized city living. They contend that if people lived in smaller communities where they did more things for themselves and where there was both the opportunity and the reward for individual initiative, through self-help activities, and in family industry producing for home consumption, the general standards of well being for these families would be raised.

I am not prepared to accept without question the views of a considerable group of people who hold this view. But I must admit that many of their points appear persuasive. I should like to see those carefully explored and experimental projects undertaken so as to be observed under conditions for objective economic analysis, free from emotional bias, which sometimes accompanies these claims.

Second, approach arises out of the problem associated with submarginal farm lands and the families residing on them. We have a deep seated tradition for family farms and as the frontier moved westward the tendency was to convert all land, regardless of its adaptability, into farms privately owned. The development of scientific agriculture, of farm machinery, of power machinery, and the whole movement of science and technology in agricul-

ture, has tended to widen the gulf, between commercial family farming on the good lands which are readily adaptable to improved technique, and subsistence farming on the poor lands. We have in the United States roughly about six and a half million family farmers. Upwards of two million of these are living upon lands which through erosion or other forms of deterioration have had a great loss in their productivity, while in other cases the level of productivity was low when cultivation was first attempted.

If we are to have an economy of abundance in the future, there is very little in store for these families as long as they are located on the poorer lands. Most of them now do not make a substantial contribution to the commercial output of farms. Most of them are subsistence farmers existing on that level, which is largely unaided by outside income, some of the submarginal areas having the characteristics of a rural slum. They represent a poverty problem. If they are to go on living as they are, the social cost attending the continuation of their living on a basis of what might be called "poverty independence" will become increasingly heavy. Much of their land is growing poorer from year to year, and it will never be able to produce a sufficient quantity of agricultural products to be exchanged for industrial goods and services to supplement the living which these people can reasonably expect to obtain through subsistence activities. These families, therefore, cannot look forward to becoming either productive members of society, on the one hand, or extensive consumers of industrial products.

Either the families living in these areas will be more or less chronic relief cases for the future—at any rate have a poor standard of living, or they must be shifted either to good agricultural lands or to locations

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where they can expect to place their chief dependence upon employment in industry.

If they are shifted to good agricultural lands, besides the practical considerations involved in locating and financing such movements, the question naturally arises as to the need for additional farmers engaged in commercial farm production. The requirements for agricultural products are quite inelastic and, because we are now in a position where through the loss of export markets we appear to be capable of supplying all the farm products needed without much increase in the aggregate national farm plant, it would not appear to be feasible for a great many to find new opportunities in agricultural production.

On the other hand, industrial production faces a demand which is relatively elastic, as it is quite probable that two-thirds of our present farm families can supply the foods and fibers of a quality and quantity so as to provide their portion towards an optimum standard of living in the United States. The direction in which the other third might most wisely move would be towards industry. Other considerations are of course involved here, particularly the practical impossibility of the present for succeeding in that direction, while there is such a large portion of the population dependent on industry already listed as unemployed.

As time goes on, the problem of these submarginal farm families will be more acute and rural slums will either become more permanent on the submarginal lands of the United States, with a steady increase in the social costs of a continuance of submarginal agriculture there, or there will be a greater fluidity of population and a differential of economic advantage will arise so as to cause a movement from these areas and absorption of many of these families by non-agricultural occupation.

There is a third group which has an in-

terest in industrial decentralization whose interest grows neither out of the current situation with respect to industry in agriculture, but who think in terms of community life and a way of living which is consistent with science, an industrial advance on the one hand, and economic well-being and improved environmental factors on the other. Sometimes the kind of environmental influence which this group advances as fitting their demand, is expressed as the "community idea."

To get at the background of the belief and feelings of this group, we must go back to a recognition of the fact that many social philosophers take the view that our present economic life is too complex, that invention and industrialization have come on to us faster than we as a society have been able to digest, and that it is possible to develop a new kind of community wholly along democratic lines which is in keeping with our indigenous American ideas and which can combine many of the good things of rural and city life in such a way as to integrate more successfully the industry, the school, and the cultural life of the community. This group of people, I believe, visualizes a new kind of industrial community which is somewhat of a social invention. In the idealized picture they offer, they would have the industry, the school, the stores and service agencies at the center, and radiating out in all directions therefrom would be individual family houses, located on blocks of land instead of town lots. This would give each family, let us say, a tract of land from three-quarters of an acre to two acres in size, large enough to produce most of the fruits and vegetables used by the village dwellers, with some poultry, and with evidence of flowers, well-kept lawns and trees, adding to the atmosphere of well-being and spaciousness.

Such communities, its advocates say,

might be a compromise between the cottage industry of the past, and the efficiency of modern technology. It would allow for shorter working hours, the most efficient factor in industry, and give opportunity for non-wage earning hours to be used in producing somethings for family consumption.

Such a way of life, its advocates contend, is possible in this age of machinery, electricity, and fast automobile transportation. This group holds that this type of life would provide better opportunities for home ownership and opportunities for industrial families to receive rewards for their individual thrift, on the one hand, and still to participate in the kind of co-operative community life which has factors socially desirable.

These three sources of interest in this whole subject have not been fused together in any hard and fast manner. I think that the interest will continue to grow, not as the fixed platform of any particular group of people, but as an expression of a widespread yearning for a kind of life which is a compromise between the age of science and machinery on the one hand and our traditions and social aspirations on the other hand.

President and Mrs. Roosevelt have been interested in this type of thinking for some time. One of the most important speeches made by Mr. Roosevelt, when he was Governor of New York, was before a conference of Governors in 1931, on the subject of "State and National Land Use Planning." As Governor, he pointed out in this message that he believed there was a proportioning or a balance between agriculture and industry. He inferred that our present unemployment grew out of maladjustments in society rather than as a result of immediate complications, and that in order to get at the root of the maladjustments there should be developed a

land program which gradually and sympathetically shifts people from the worn-out and poor lands to the better lands, where every home would have electricity available and where schools and good roads could be used by everyone.

Furthermore, he said that he believed there was a kind of industry which was intermediate between agriculture and mass production, which he termed "rural-urban industry." He expressed in this address a confidence that there were great unexplored vistas ahead and urged investigation of their possibilities. Much of the present widespread interest in industrial decentralization and in a pattern of living which will reconcile the farm and the factory, no doubt gains its impetus from the President's personal interest in the matter. During the last year of the World War and during a few years immediately thereafter, the warring nations each gave attention to what was termed "soldier settlements," the idea being to re-establish returned veterans, who were so inclined, on small plots of land under government supervision aid direction.

Dr. Elwood Mead, then Professor of Rural Institutions at the University of California, and now Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Reclamation, gave much thought to this proposal and contributed greatly towards popularizing the idea of planning rural communities in this country. Dr. Mead was not alone in his interest in planning rural communities as Mr. Hugh McRae of Wilmington, North Carolina, a persistent Scotchman, championed with bull dog tenacity the idea that agriculture and rural life in the South was at low ebb and that the path towards hope led through the development of planned rural communities with greater emphasis upon production for home use and the development of a community life with a root in coöperation.

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McRae had visited Denmark and had become absorbed with the coöperative organization which he saw and of the possibilities of rural communities as encouraged by the Danes, and believed that the South must look towards this pattern of living if its people were to take full advantage of their natural resources. The idea obtained support in various other quarters also and received considerable popular attention. As is often the case, the possibilities of land to provide support for families often was over-emphasized. On the other hand, there were those critics who failed to reckon with many factors and who thought entirely in terms of production in terms of its money equivalent.

Senator Bankhead of Alabama, the vigorous and inventive son of a vigorous and inventive father, was responsible with the President in obtaining legislation during the special session of Congress, which began soon after the inauguration of the present administration. It consisted of an amendment to Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act—Section 208, which reads:

To provide for aiding the redistribution of the overbalance of population in industrial centers, \$25,000,000 is hereby made available to the President, to be used by him through such agencies as he may establish and under such regulations as he may make, for making loans for and otherwise aiding in the purchase of subsistence homesteads. The moneys collected as repayment of said loans shall constitute a revolving fund to be administered as directed by the President for the purposes of this section.

Subsequently, the President delegated the broad powers conferred on him in this brief section to the Secretary of the Interior, who in turn established the Division of Subsistence Homesteads. The Division is now establishing a number of projects under a variety of conditions intended to provide a broad field of experimentation.

Meantime, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration became cognizant of the relatively lower cash outlays for relief of rural families compared with urban families. It also was impressed by observers who said that many unemployed had little hope of immediate employment. It has established a Division of Rural Rehabilitation under Colonel Lawrence Westbrook of Texas, which, besides rehabilitation of individual rural families, is planning and constructing a series of rural-industrial communities. Its approach is somewhat different from that of the Homesteads Division. The latter is bound by provisions in Section 208, which clearly contemplate loans under conditions which tend to emphasize repayment. The principle of relief plus rehabilitation has more prominence in the relief administration program. In both cases the search for industries willing to establish plants adjacent to new communities has not had abundant response.

The Tennessee Valley Authority, created under legislation vigorously sponsored by the President, has a definite relationship to decentralization of both industries and population. It contemplates regional planning and besides its function of developing and supplying electricity at low cost, it is concerned with planning and developing industry through the Valley and with integrating such development with the establishment of homes and communities. It is attempting to encourage the type of community which carries with it many characteristics of the village system with ground available for gardens and other purposes which will supplement cash income. In building the town of Norris, the Tennessee Valley Authority has provided for allotment gardens, small tracts of land which are available to each family. It has also developed a dairy farm there which will be operated on a co-

operative basis by residents of the town of Norris.

The Tennessee Valley Authority may make the most significant contribution to the decentralization idea of any agency so far created by the government. One of the significant facts in the case of the Tennessee Valley Authority is the fact that it regards its function as not only that of developing power, flood control works and navigation in the area, but of a responsibility with regard to all of the elements which will make up a type of life best suited to the area in the light of the natural resources there available.

The Emergency Relief Administration is also making a contribution through the establishment of so-called "work centers." These are being established in many areas where no new settlement or resettlement is contemplated. They involve, in some instances, provision for small modern machinery and equipment enabling the people who are on relief to produce various types of goods for their own consumption or for trade with persons who have a part in the activities of other work centers. In some cases the work centers involve little more than equipment for community canning. In any event there are possibilities in connection with their development for the reason that, in addition to supplying immediate needs of people unable to support themselves at this time, many of these people are gaining a type of training which may prove to be a valuable background of experience for work in small factories in the future.

The Federal Housing Administration, which operates under the principle of guaranteeing loans made by private groups, has taken an interest in the development of organized communities. It has worked out a plan of financing them. I understand that coöperative groups, planning to develop coöperative communi-

ties after detailed analysis of their plans, have been able to fit in their programs with provisions of the Housing Administration for carrying out Title II of the Housing Act.

The Housing Division of the Public Works Administration, which is principally concerned with slum clearance, has in several instances taken steps which are clearly in the direction of afforded opportunities for the decentralization of people. It has erected a community of homes, which through a limited dividend corporation at Alta Vista, Virginia, consists of homes for workers employed in industries there which are of the decentralized type. I am not familiar with that community except that the principal industry is rayon and that the community was erected because of a great shortage of housing there, which provided a situation which was described as having the characteristics of a slum.

It is uncertain at this time whether during the coming year there will be extension of the activities of agencies which I have mentioned with respect to activities which are part of or harmonious with the decentralization idea.

Since there can be wide latitude in the type of homestead community, there may be some merit in attempting to list somewhat categorically the principal types or kinds of homesteads which can be built and financed either with private or government funds.

First, individual and independent homesteads. The present net-work of paved automobile roads in the United States is encouraging a certain unmeasured amount of subsistence homestead development without outside or government encouragement. It is probable that the development of what some have called "shoe-string" villages, extending out as lateral appendages to our present cities and

villages who have developed a sure kind, character, boundaries many ties a life.

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villages, will continue. There are many who believe that it would be desirable to develop county zoning which would assure more orderly development of this kind, as the haphazard, "shoe-string" character of some of this development is bound to have serious consequences in many cases with respect to school facilities and the development of community life.

In the last ten years there has been a decided movement among our well-to-do people to build new homes in the suburbs or out in the open country. There are a great many middle-class people in the cities, and particularly among working people, who as children lived on farms and who look forward to a time when they can save a few hundred dollars and, largely on their own initiative, build a home on a plot of ground along one of the paved highways leading into the city. For the most part, this appears a desirable trend to be encouraged, and a financial loan system is in need of development to take care of this type of individual. But, as I have said, county zoning may be necessary. The idea of city planning would be extended to the entire county or metropolitan area where this type of development is likely to take place. Otherwise, the fringes of the cities may after a time take on characteristics somewhat like the blighted areas so often bordering business districts.

The second type of development involves garden-home communities adjacent to present cities and centers of employment. Such developments do not contemplate moving industry from its present location but rather in spreading the city in an orderly manner over a wide area. Instead of directing new housing in the form of apartment houses and crowded dwellings, this type of development contemplates suburban homes on

tracts of land large enough for fruit and garden production.

Third, there is the development of small industrial cities. There are many small, semi-industrial cities and villages of under 10,000 population located throughout the United States. Many of these lie in the area extending from the Mississippi River to the Alleghany Mountains. They have good transportation facilities both in the form of railroads and truck lines, and at the present time their factory personnel consists in large part of the sons and daughters of farmers living within a radius of up to 25 miles of the factory. More than this, good farming land can be bought at the edges of these cities and villages at farm land prices. It is not difficult to provide for this development, which consists principally of spreading the small industrial center over a wider area of land with employment for workers in industries which are at present located within the village or which are likely to locate there because of factors including availability of power, availability of certain natural resources, and the type and character of the workmen available there.

The fourth type consists of new organized rural industrial communities located in the country or in the non-industrial country villages. This type of development implies the establishment of both industries and homes for workers now in cities or from farms. I believe that Mr. Henry Ford is experimenting with this development in Michigan. Naturally, this type of development hinges on provision for industry which will provide employment. Mr. Ford has taken a number of steps involving the manufacture of certain of the parts needed for his automobiles in separate industries so decentralized as to assure workers of opportunities for activities which will supplement their income and also provide them

with a better environment for raising their families. I am told that he contemplates further decentralization of this sort and that he has been encouraged by what has been accomplished so far.

The fifth type involves development which is not industrial. It provides for cutting up areas of fertile agricultural land into smaller farms where opportunities could be provided for the relocation of subsistence farmers from submarginal lands where they are now located. Their removal to better lands would provide them with opportunities for continuing agricultural production under more favorable circumstances. It is not assumed that this movement will increase agricultural production but that it will provide an opportunity for a much higher standard of living for families through the greater volume and variety of products they can produce with less effort on good land as compared with production on poor lands, which led them inevitably through that companion of poverty land, poverty homes. In this type of development the way is open for the introduction of industry.

I have attempted only to sketch the high points dealing with the background of the present efforts in the direction of population and industrial decentralization. I wish to say something about two extremely important aspects of decentralization and the social philosophy underlying this trend.

First, it is clear that communities of the types I have mentioned will not succeed without industrial employment. If they are built in the country without ample industrial employment, they can only turn into rural slums. If industry is unwilling to go to the country, then the country must go to industry. There is, unfortunately, a lack of information respecting the relationship of the size of plants to efficient

operation of the plants in the many varying types of industry. It would be desirable if we had one or two large scale experiments where an industrial city of 100,000 or more was surrounded with a plan of industrial development providing for homesteads for workers, garden homes in a belt five or six miles around the present city.

Secondly, developments of this kind must be considered not as new city subdivisions, but as new integrated communities. I look with hope to the latter view, for if they are organized as new integrated communities, we can hope to learn a great deal about the way of developing a new pattern of life and a new mode of living.

I have no great confidence in transporting city people, who have become accustomed to living in a very high specialized society where they have largely lost the knack of doing things for themselves, into decentralized industrial communities where there will be a great many things which they must do for themselves and for their families, if this type of living is to be successful. Just how much home work and handicraft work can serve as a practical supplement is not known for we are without definite measures of their meaning except under certain special and limited conditions. I am inclined to think that the contribution of home industry is not as great as the extreme enthusiasts proclaim but likely more than the average citizen believes. Its success depends so largely upon individual ingenuity and individual capacities. I have no confidence that all types of people can make the adjustment necessary to live successfully in this new type of community. Like everything else, these communities have their price and their reward. To be successful there must be a new program of adult education of a high order. Thus far, those of us who have been inter-

ested in this development have given considerable time to the problem of the physical set-up of communities, the most desirable size of plots of land, house plans, financing arrangements and other elements of administration. There is a great task ahead in the field of adult education centering about the reorientation and re-adaptation of families to this pattern of community living. Economists and social philosophers roughly divide themselves into two schools, not wholly distinct but considerably different. The first lay their emphasis upon income. Many of my friends say that there is nothing inherently wrong with present city industrial life except lack of income; that if society could be reorganized in some way so that every family could have more income, there would not be any particular argument left for the rural industrial type of living. The other school argues that income alone is not enough; that our society has really become too complex and complicated and that rural industrial communities offer a compromise between individualism on the one hand, and the age for technology and science on the other.

In my own thinking, I look upon decentralization of industry and the rural industrial community as a means to a more abundant social life, rather than only a means to greater efficiency in the production of physical commodities. Most economic discussions on decentralization of industry are almost without exception based upon considerations of physical efficiency and productivity. Even when the economist discusses decentralization of industry from the standpoint of human welfare, he is prone to state his argument in terms of a greater or lesser output of the man-satisfying goods for a greater or smaller input of human energy. In other words, we are apt to discuss decentraliza-

tion in terms of physical efficiency rather than in terms of ultimate human welfare.

The social gains to be derived from a mode of living made possible through decentralized industry and workers living upon small agricultural plots of land may be grouped into two major classes. First, what I choose to call the physical or economic advantages, and, second, the esthetic advantages. By physical or economic advantages I mean those advantages which may be measured quantitatively in terms of physical or economic units. By esthetic advantages I mean those which make it possible for the occupant of the homestead to experience the higher things of life and to increase his cultural equipment to the end of attaining greater social usefulness.

Under the physical or economic advantages I think of the following: First, Dietary: There is a considerable under-consumption of fruits, vegetables, poultry, and dairy products among the working classes of the city, due in large part to the relatively high cost of distribution of these foods. When the workers live on a subsistence homestead these costs of distribution are entirely eliminated, and, in addition, his cost of production for these is materially reduced, thus making it possible for this under-privileged class to improve their dietary standards. It is, of course, evident that this is true only in part of the present urban worker.

Second, Supplement to income: A homestead offers to the worker an opportunity to engage during his spare time in the production of directly useful commodities. In the cities opportunities for economic utilization of spare time are scarce. On homesteads the opportunity is there to utilize as much spare time as the individual cares to utilize.

Third, Opportunity for retirement: A homestead offers the worker a place to

retire if he has passed his period of industrial usefulness. In event that he owns the homestead, it then becomes comparable to savings upon which he draws in his old age, but if under a system of tenancy he has security of tenure he may retain use of the homestead on a basis similar to an old age pension. Federal legislation might make it possible for workers in industrial plants now leasing homesteads from the Government to retain use of the property after the age of sixty or sixty-five until their death. They might be required to pay a nominal rent or they might be given use of the property rent free, the Government reimbursing itself for the costs involved from sources which it is now contemplating in its old age pension legislation.

Fourth, Cushion against unemployment: In the event of depression affecting the whole economy, one industry or a single plant, the workers affected who live upon subsistence homesteads could to a considerable extent fall back upon cultivation of homesteads to supply them with some of the necessities of life until such time as employment opportunity again picks up. This could also be encouraged by the Government in a fashion similar to unemployment insurance by giving the worker use of his homestead free of cost during such periods of economic stress, the cost being met out of the unemployment reserves, and these costs being recouped from the same sources from which the Government now contemplates drawing funds for unemployment insurance.

The esthetic advantages of subsistence homesteading are of great perhaps greater importance to the future welfare of our society than any of the desirable features of subsistence homesteading so far discussed. These esthetic advantages, as I can see them, are:

1. Suburban living offers the worker a place to raise his children away from the urban crowding and urban community slum conditions.
2. It makes available to the workers' family closer association with the out-of-doors, that is, with nature.
3. It reduces the need for expensive clothing, permits plainer dress and probably reduces the urge to "keep up with the Joneses."
4. And this I consider the most important of all—homesteading offers the worker and his family a chance to utilize their increasing leisure time in more uplifting and more cultural activities.

An urban environment permits the use of leisure time in handicraft production and cultural improvement from study, enjoyment of music, engaging in community activities, etc., but, at least as organized at present, it makes much more possible "profitless recreation." A semi-rural environment offers the same opportunities for the utilization of leisure time as does the city, but in addition makes it possible for the family to engage in the production of fruits and vegetables, to keep poultry and a cow or two, and thus to experience some of the enjoyment which comes from working with nature.

But not only does homesteading offer an opportunity for engaging in this particular kind of cultural activity—it also permits the engaging in a form of cultural activity which has probably the widest adaptability with the least requirements for special training. Probably more people can grow a garden and some flowers and attain a reasonable degree of success than can undertake wood or metal working or weaving with any degree of success. Of course successful gardening and livestock management requires much technical training, but it is my contention that a higher degree of success may be achieved without this technical training than with most other activities.

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WHAT BECOMES OF DELINQUENTS?

WILEY B. SANDERS

University of North Carolina

ONE THOUSAND JUVENILE DELINQUENTS. By Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1934. 341 pp. \$3.50.

JUVENILE PROBATION. By Belle Boone Beard. New York: American Book Company, 1934. 219 pp. \$2.25.

FIVE HUNDRED DELINQUENT WOMEN. By Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor T. Glueck. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934. 539 pp. \$5.00.

I

Social workers have become increasingly aware during the past few years that juvenile courts, in their efforts to reclaim juvenile delinquents, have been failing in a considerable proportion of their cases. But it comes as a distinct shock when the Gluecks, after a careful analysis of one thousand cases of delinquent boys handled by the Boston Juvenile Court and the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic, which through the studies of Drs. Healy and Bronner have come to be regarded as the finest example of scientific procedure with youthful delinquents in this country, boldly assert that 88.2 per cent of these delinquents became recidivists during a five year period following treatment. Dr. Healy in an earlier study (*Delinquents and Criminals*, pp. 73-74) pointed out that 70 per cent of the boys and 54 per cent of the girls committed to correctional institutions failed, but the Gluecks claim that 94.4 per cent of their delinquents thus committed became recidivists. In fact, according to the Gluecks, it apparently

makes little difference what method of treatment is employed by the court, since the proportion of failure is uniformly high. Those placed in the country failed in 88.2 per cent of the cases, those committed to non-correctional institutions failed in 87.2 per cent, and even those placed on probation and parole became recidivists in 86.8 per cent of the cases.

Clearly, something must be wrong somewhere, for these figures strike the reader as almost unbelievably high. Several questions immediately arise: (1) Was the group studied a "fair sample" of delinquents—an unselected group? (2) What standard of success and failure was employed in judging the outcome? (3) If the findings are correct, what can be done to improve the situation? An attempt will be made to answer these questions.

(1) *The group studied.* With the year 1919 as a mid-point, cases of delinquent boys referred by the Boston Juvenile Court to the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic were selected backward to 1917 and forward to 1922, until a thousand had been assembled. It was felt necessary to go this far back in time in order to allow a five year span after the end of the period of prescribed treatment to gauge results of the effectiveness of the treatment on the boys' behavior. This study, therefore, measures the effectiveness of the court and clinic approximately fifteen years ago—

a period of great unrest during and following the World War. These thousand boys were not the general run of the juvenile court, but were those who "obviously had some physical or mental handicap" and about whom the judge was really puzzled—in other words, they represented on the whole the most difficult cases. That this is true is evidenced by the fact that all but 4.6 per cent of the boys "had seriously misbehaved prior to the arrest which brought them into the Boston Juvenile Court on the present offense." It is hardly fair, therefore, to judge the juvenile court and the clinic today by the outcome of their most difficult cases fifteen years ago, even though the Gluecks claim that the methods of the court and clinic have remained essentially the same during these years.

While this study is handicapped throughout by a lack of control groups—a weakness fully realized by the Gluecks—it is quite significant from the standpoint of family back-ground that 29 per cent of the parents of these boys were illiterate, that seven-eighths of the families in "normal times" had required assistance of social welfare agencies, that the physical condition of the home and neighborhood were *unwholesome* in the great majority of cases (subjective judgments, however), that 45.5 per cent of the homes were "broken" by death, desertion, etc., that there was mental disease or defect or both in 32.3 per cent of the members of the immediate family, and mental "peculiarities" in an additional 19.4 per cent, that there were "low moral standards" in 70.4 per cent of the homes, and that there was a criminal record for parents or siblings or both in 57.9 per cent of the cases.

As for the characteristics of the delinquent boys themselves, 84.5 per cent were at least one year behind grade in their school work, 58.1 per cent were engaged

in street trades, 13.1 per cent were in poor physical condition and an identical proportion were feeble-minded, and, judged from the psychiatric viewpoint, three-fifths of the boys had marked emotional and personality defects. From such a background as this, we would naturally expect a high rate of failure among these delinquent boys, irrespective of method of disposition by the juvenile court.

(2) *Standard of success and failure.* In order to reach the figure of 88.2 per cent failure of these delinquents during the five year post-treatment period, the Gluecks not only counted convictions for serious offenses (felonies), but also convictions for minor offenses (misdemeanors); arrests *not followed by convictions*; other offenses "for which the youths somehow did not come to the attention of the police;" minor offenses which had not resulted in arrest; desertion or dishonorable discharge from army or navy; and warrants issued but not served. Instead of using a conservative standard of judging behavior and counting as failure only convictions for serious offenses—a point on which the majority of social workers would agree—the Gluecks paint the picture of the boys' records in the blackest possible colors. There is considerable doubt as to the fairness of counting conviction for a misdemeanor as failure (some investigator, by the way, should find out how frequently the average citizen commits a misdemeanor), while to count arrests not followed by convictions is grossly unfair, when it is common knowledge how frequently the police arrest on suspicion a person known to them to have had a delinquency record. After all, the failure of these boys, as judged by convictions for serious offenses, 568 cases out of the group of 905 boys whose post-treatment conduct was determinable, or 62.75 per cent, is pronounced enough. If

to this is added the group convicted of minor offenses, 167 cases, or 18.45 per cent, a total is reached of 81.2 per cent law violations. Unfortunately, no table is provided to show the type and distribution of offenses committed by these boys in the post-treatment period.

(3) *Suggestions for improvement.* It is surprising to learn that the Boston Juvenile Court, after requesting the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic to examine the boys and make recommendations for their treatment, follows those recommendations in only 21.5 per cent of the cases. Various reasons are given for this non-compliance, such as: a variety of unrecorded differences of opinion between court and clinic, legal or procedural obstacles to carrying out the clinic's recommendations, lack of parental coöperation, refusal or inability of various social agencies to assist the court in the placement of certain delinquents, limited skill of probation officers, paucity of necessary community facilities for dealing with the delinquent, etc. Obviously the court and clinic should "get together" and coöordinate their work, the clinic should not confine itself to diagnosis and writing prescriptions for treatment but should take an active part in the treatment program. To do this effectively, *"the clinic should be incorporated into the court."*

This book is not so much an indictment of the juvenile court and the clinic as it is an indictment of society itself which permits, nay, even fosters, conditions of living which inevitably result in the delinquency of youth. As a result of the widespread and heated discussion of the Gluecks' study of delinquents in Boston will come a more intensive analysis of our present methods of handling delinquents elsewhere, and further research "to disprove" the Gluecks' disturbing conclusions.

II

Miss Beard, in her attempt to evaluate the results of probationary treatment with juvenile delinquents, selects 500 cases (400 boys, 100 girls) referred by the Boston Juvenile Court to the Judge Baker Foundation Clinic and examined there serially during a period of more than two years, beginning January 1, 1924. This is approximately five years after the delinquents included in the Gluecks' study were examined. Follow-up interviews were begun by Miss Beard on January 1, 1929, which allows for a post-probation period of four or five years in which to observe the effects of probation.

For 43 per cent of the boys and 76 per cent of the girls, the probation was regarded as successful, since these delinquents from the date their probation ended to the time of the completion of this study, five to seven years, had "desisted from misconduct." In this "successful" group, however, are included 25 boys (6.25 per cent) who were returned to court for crimes committed *during* their probation terms. For a smaller group (34 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls), probation resulted only in temporary cessation of delinquency. The "failures" included 21 per cent of the boys and 12 per cent of the girls. On the whole, therefore, Miss Beard found about 50 per cent of delinquent children succeeding on probation, as contrasted with 13.2 per cent successful probation found by the Gluecks for a group of delinquent boys studied five years previously.

In defense of the work of the clinic, Miss Beard finds that on the basis of the various examinations with regard to the child's health, mental condition, behavior record, etc., the clinic can predict with a high degree of accuracy the outcome of probation in a given case. "Of the boys given

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good prognosis by the clinic, only 9 per cent were failures, while of the boys given poor prognosis, only 25 per cent were successes. Where a good prognosis was made for the girls, 92 per cent were successes; where the prognosis was poor, 53 per cent were failures."

Whether a child is to succeed or fail on probation is largely determined by the home and neighborhood conditions, by the child's health, his companionships, his recreational interests, his work experiences, and his educational back-ground. Probation officers have long sought an answer to the question, Does moving the family reform the child? "In 60 per cent of the 68 families who moved, probation for the child was counted a success . . . and in only 16 per cent of the whole group the change of districts did not affect the behavior of the child." Apparently, also, intensive case work with the child's family paid high dividends in terms of successful treatment. Even feeble-minded delinquents were successes on probation in about half the cases.

Although half the children had carious teeth, a third had enlarged or diseased tonsils, and a considerable proportion were suffering from defective vision, digestive disorders, venereal diseases, etc., little evidence was found of a direct relationship between conduct and health. "Physical defects may indirectly cause delinquency, but their correction does not automatically eliminate the delinquency."

In an interesting analysis of the companionship factor in delinquency, Miss Beard finds 27.2 per cent of the delinquents committed the offense upon their own initiative, 8.0 per cent committed the offense alone, but at the instigation of another, 11.8 per cent were involved with one companion in the offense, while 52.6 per cent were with two or more companions. Probation was employed with far more suc-

cess with delinquents involved with others than it was with the "lone hands."

For the probation officer looking for practical suggestions, Miss Beard's book will prove stimulating, but the statistical treatment of the material leaves much to be desired.

III

"Who are delinquent women? From what soil do they spring? What are their physical, mental, and social characteristics? What are they like in childhood, in adolescence, and in adulthood? What occupations do they embark upon? Are they steady and reliable workers, or the reverse? What about their sexual experiences? Do they make good wives and mothers? How do they respond to the regime of a reformatory? How do they behave while under parole supervision in the community? How do their careers develop after official restraint has been removed? What proportion of them reform and settle down to at least a law-abiding, if not a constructive life? Is it possible to predict what will happen to various types of delinquents as a result of different forms of treatment?" To answer these questions, and thus to fill a notable gap in the literature on crime and punishment, the Gluecks, following in general the same method of study as in their previous two publications, make a statistical as well as case study analysis of five hundred delinquent women sentenced by Massachusetts courts to the Reformatory during the period 1914 to 1924.

To gain the reader's interest from the outset, the Gluecks present in a *Gallery of Women* eleven "life histories" of delinquent women, covering a wide range of "types," from Marie, a victim of circumstances, and Margaret, a stubborn child, to Minnie, "everybody's woman," and Louisa, a murderess. There follows a

description of the family background of the five hundred women, in which there stand out prominently the illiteracy of the parents (34.8 per cent), the low occupational status of the fathers, the high proportion of mothers gainfully employed (55.7 per cent), the low economic condition of the families, necessitating financial assistance from social agencies in over half the cases (53.4 per cent), "poor" home and neighborhood conditions, mental diseases or defect in 58.6 per cent of the families, "poor" conjugal relations of parents (27.4 per cent), broken homes (58.4 per cent), "poor" parental discipline (64.3 per cent), "poor" moral standards (55.1 per cent), and criminality in other members of the family in 80.7 per cent of the cases.

The women themselves were on the whole a sorry lot, as evidenced by the fact that over one-third were feeble-minded and nine-tenths were retarded one or more years in school; that seven-tenths had harmful habits during childhood; that 98.2 per cent were sexually immoral, and 67.8 per cent were venereally diseased before commitment; that 35.5 per cent gave birth to illegitimate children; that two-thirds of them had previous "arrests," and nearly one-third had "served time" in a penal institution. Most of those who married, married "pick-ups," often vicious and criminal. A fifth of the marriages were disrupted within six months.

What did the Reformatory do with these women? It cured their venereal diseases and otherwise improved their physical condition; it gave them training in home making and in the wholesome use of leisure; it gave some better ethical standards and habits of self-control. To some, the Reformatory was a harmful influence, since through vicious associations there they acquired knowledge regarding illicit sex practices, perversions, methods of

prostitution, techniques of abortion, and a vile vocabulary. Some effect of the Reformatory training is seen in the parole record of these women. Of 256 women whose conduct on parole was definitely known, 45 per cent were not delinquent during parole, 23 per cent were actually arrested, and 32 per cent, though grossly misbehaving, were not arrested.

Five years after the expiration of parole these women were again checked up, only 44.6 per cent being interviewed personally. Only 28.5 per cent during the post parole period were *not* sexually immoral, a considerable reduction from the 52.9 per cent who were not immoral during the parole period. A good proportion of the women, therefore, while under supervision could keep straight, but relapsed after supervision was withdrawn. Nearly a fourth of the women five years after parole were venereally diseased, and nearly ten per cent more were probably infected. More than three-fourths of the women (76.4 per cent) were regarded by the Gluecks as delinquent in this later check-up.

An interesting chapter is given over to discussion of methods of predicting recidivism, based upon follow-up studies of recidivism of women correlated with certain physical and mental traits, experiences, etc., of the women themselves. Under such a rating scale, somewhat analogous to the use of the I.Q., a judge could tell *presumably* whether a certain type of woman would best benefit by reformatory training or probation. While suggestive and ingenious, this method has two fatal weaknesses—first, the total number of factors to be considered is too great (153 are listed by the Gluecks but only 11 are used for prediction purposes); and second, human beings cannot be reduced to types, each individual being a unique personality.

This third volume of the Gluecks is perhaps the most comprehensive statistical analysis of delinquent women ever attempted. It is a mine of valuable information for criminologists, parole officers, institution workers, and those engaged in social research. A word of caution is in order, however, as to the interpretation of the statistical data. There are two types of social factors—those which can be measured in objective terms, such as size of family, school retardation, physical defects, etc., and those which cannot with our present facilities be measured objectively; namely, conjugal relations, parental discipline, neighborhood conditions, etc., which, if measured at all, must be largely subjective. Who can tell what is "good" and what is "poor" parental discipline? It is entirely a relative matter, and depends upon highly complex individual reactions. A method which might succeed with one child would fail with another. It appears rather contradictory to say that a child had "good" parental discipline yet became delinquent. These subjective measurements, therefore, when presented in fractions of a percentage, and alongside social factors measured objectively, have an appearance of scientific accuracy which they, in fact, do not possess.

FEDERAL TRANSIENT PROGRAM. AN EVALUATIVE SURVEY, MAY TO JULY, 1934. By Ellery F. Reed. New York. The Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, 1935. 143 pp. \$1.00.

Invaluable and timely is the publication of Dr. Reed's evaluative survey of the Federal Transient Program. Every worker in the Federal Transient Service and almost every layman connected with the service on advisory committees will feel that he has had the price of his dollar after he has seen this comprehensive study. All workers in the Federal Transient Service

will feel that they deserve a little piece of a halo for accomplishing a small part of this tremendous piece of national organization, and this in spite of the fact that the survey makes many severe but constructive criticisms.

For example, it points out most emphatically the need of a better medical program, the need for earmarking of funds for the Federal Transient Service, the unethical practices of having transients do full time work for a relief amount that violates all government codes of salary, for the necessity of more adequate research in the fields of transient work, and for the need of more emphasis on a program for youth. One of the important points brought out in the study is the fact that the Auditing Department in many states has played an undue part in the transient program and has sometimes controlled phases of the work which should rightfully belong to other departments.

One cannot but be deeply impressed by the report's presentation of all that has been accomplished in a short time and by the contrast which these accomplishments present with the dark picture of the past as related to the care of transients. It is much to be hoped that the Federal Transient Service may be permitted a long enough life to profit by the suggestions, the criticisms, and the inspiration of this report.

There are certain small criticisms to be made of the survey, itself, as is to be expected, since it, too, like the Federal Transient Service, had to take shape in an incredibly short time. The amount of space and attention given to the educational program of the transient service seems inadequate. Such constructive bits of work, as the Iowa State program, or the San Luis Obispo placement program, were not mentioned. A chapter or a part of a chapter on the need for publicity would

perhaps be in place. In several instances errors of fact have been made with respect to sections of work with which I am familiar. Perhaps such errors, which were of course inevitable, have been corrected in a later edition.

I for one feel extremely grateful for this report and believe that it will prove a splendid contribution to the development of an adequate Transient Service and perhaps to its preservation as a Federal project.

DOROTHY WYSOR SMITH.

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THE TECHNIQUE OF SOCIAL INVESTIGATION. By C. Luther Fry. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1934. 315 pp. \$2.50.

Dr. Fry has produced a very practical work differing widely in emphasis from the usual text on social statistics or detailed discussion on social methodology. From his broad experience in dealing with research in an administrative way, he has drawn illustrations of methods of meeting research problems not usually treated in the texts. Such sections as those on delimiting the project and estimating time and costs cover principles usually assumed by writers on method, yet anyone who has dealt with inexperienced workers realizes that it is unwarranted to assume that such knowledge is general. His practical principles embodied in the chapters on writing the report and applying the findings also are unusual in books on research method.

An especially valuable contribution to the philosophy of social research is contained in the discussion miscalled Qualitative Analysis. What Dr. Fry treats in this chapter is not the technique of treating so-called qualitative traits. This he

approaches in his discussion of Tests and Experiments. What his chapter deals with chiefly is the admission that too few advocates of the objective-behavioristic school would make; namely, that in the most carefully objective research plan, subjective elements inevitably enter. The author's quite logical contribution is that regardless of the determination to pursue objective methods in the later stages of the investigation, the investigator willy nilly must project his personality in the processes of delimiting the study and defining categories. In the author's own words, "Social inquiry is so interwoven with the warp and woof of life that the very terms and the surroundings of your questions are likely to be influenced greatly by your particular outlook." And again, "Many of the first-rate sociological investigations owe their claim to importance not primarily to the facts collected but to the angle from which the facts are viewed."

The limitation of Dr. Fry's book as a manual arises from the fact that having treated so many preliminary matters in useful detail from the viewpoint of the administrator and the young worker bent on finding out about and choosing between methods of research, he has been able to give too little attention to the technical details which come up in carrying forward a research project. His whole treatment of the statistical method is confined to the chapter on Quantitative Analysis which, while full enough to give the student a general idea of the uses of statistical procedures, is not in sufficient detail to constitute a manual.

T. J. WOOFER, JR.

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EUGENICS

ERNEST R. GROVES

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- THE EUGENIC PREDICAMENT. By S. J. Holmes. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933. 232 pp.
- THE CASE FOR STERILIZATION. By Leon F. Whitney. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1934. 309 pp. \$2.50.
- HUMAN STERILIZATION. By J. H. Landman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932. 341 pp. \$4.00.
- HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT. By Gladys C. Schwesinger. Edited by Frederick Osborn. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. 484 pp. \$4.00.
- A DECADE OF PROGRESS IN EUGENICS. A Symposium. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934. 531 pp.
- HUMAN STERILITY. By Samuel Raynor Meaker. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934. 276 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- MENTAL DEFICIENCY DUE TO BIRTH INJURIES. By Edgar A. Doll, Winthrop M. Phelps, and Ruth Taylor Melcher. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932. 289 pp. Illustrated. \$4.50.
- THE TWILIGHT OF PARENTHOOD. By Enid Charles. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1934. 226 pp. \$2.50.

Slow as are changes in our fundamental mores, the recent progress in applied eugenics seems remarkable. Where the theory of personal right seemed so long impregnable to any attack of social restraint, eugenics has made entrance. In spite of a legal opposition, long held and firmly set, and a popular hostility intensely emotional, eugenics considerations are making headway both in law and in public opinion. We are moving toward the time when parenthood will be thought of not as a personal right but a social privilege. It is recent knowledge concerning human heredity, gathered by science, that has carried us as far as we have gone, and were our knowledge more complete and less open to debate, the eugenics program would be more advanced than it is. *The Eugenic Predicament* splendidly reveals what

has already been accomplished. As is always true in slow movement, we realize what has happened only by looking backward. Holmes gives us not only a brief summary of this development of eugenics but also a frank and fair statement of some of the difficulties that are retarding the movement. These can by no means be charged merely to prejudice, for, as Holmes shows us, scientists of the first rank are not in full agreement, as some of the severest critics come from science itself. There is no better brief summary of the present status of eugenics in the United States.

The Case for Sterilization covers much the same field as does Holmes' book but is more popular and, as the title suggests, propagandistic. It is a splendid book to interest the beginner in eugenics.

Human Sterilization is a veritable storehouse of eugenic information. It would be difficult in a book of this size to handle the subject more completely. It discusses the history of the eugenics movement, the statistics of the mentally incompetent people in this country, the legal evolution of human sterilization, the three most important decisions thus far made by the court, the present status of our sterilization laws, the biology of human sterilization, eugenic surgery and its effect, and, finally, the problem of social policy.

Heredity and Environment is a massive analysis of influences that operate upon mental traits. Much data is interpreted in the effort to untangle conditions of hereditary or environmental origin operating upon human personality. The book concludes: "And there is strong evidence, from studies made in this country and in

England, that the higher intelligence of the upper socio-economic groups as compared with groups lower in the socio-economic scale, is to an important extent due to differences in hereditary capacity."

A Decade of Progress in Eugenics is an encyclopedia of information regarding many phases of eugenics. It is made up of papers read at the Third International Congress of Eugenics, held at New York in 1932. These scientific papers are catalogued under such classifications as Anthropometric Methods, Race Amalgamation, Selection, Positive and Negative Eugenics, Differential Fecundity, and Human Genetics. It is a source book of great value to the student of marriage and the family.

Human Sterility is adapted to the medical specialist. It issues from a large clinical experience and is illustrated by many case histories. Although written for the physician, it will be welcomed by the teacher of marriage courses and will prove a popular book of reference for students studying marriage.

Mental Deficiency Due to Injuries is another medical book that every instructor of marriage courses will want to have in his private library and will wish available for the reference reading of his students. It is a book that we have long needed. It is another evidence of the strength of the feeling among medical men that the dangers of child birth need to be decreased and that this can come about only by their becoming better known.

The Twilight of Parenthood is a layman's book. It seeks to convince the reader that there is danger of under-population in the western world. The problem is pointedly stated by the assertion that a stationary population can only be maintained if every woman bears about three children, and in practice this means that many must have four or five to make up for the deficiency

of others. "The problem before us can be put briefly by asking how we are to obtain a sufficient number of four- or five-child families" (p. 196). The reader will be interested in the author's treatment of contraception. He insists that this new feature makes it impossible to compare the population growth in the United States with any preceding experience. He thinks it possible that unintentional influences are lessening fertility and, in addition, that the field of diminishing fertility is continually extending (p. 187). This is a thoughtful, well written book.

THE FAMILY—ITS SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL PSYCHIATRY.
By Joseph Kirk Folsom New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1934. 604 pp. \$4.00.

The Family—Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry is a distinctive contribution to the steadily increasing number of books on the family. In this volume Professor Folsom succeeds in a commendable manner in integrating the various approaches to the study of the family. In the language of the author, he "attempts to weave cultural anthropology, individual psychology, social psychology, history, sociology, economics, and psychiatry into a unitary science of the family." This is a big order but Professor Folsom accomplishes his objective to a degree, and in a manner, which will surprise and please the reader.

The volume is divided into six parts and eighteen chapters. Part I treats The Family Pattern and Its Subcultural Basis, while Part II is concerned with The Cultural History and Geography of The Family. The two chapters of Part III give attention to Social Change and The Family. Part IV bears the title Family Problems and Mass Adjustments, and devotes a chapter to each of the following topics: Controlled reproduction, marriage, divorce, "the love mores," and the economics of children and the home. Part V is concerned with

Family Problems and Individual Adjustments. This division also carries discussions of "family organization and personality," "marital rôles, frustrations, and interaction," parent-child relationships and education, and individual treatment of individual maladjustments. Part VI discusses in able manner The Future of The Family System.

Outstanding features about *The Family—Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry* include a comparative description of the American family and that of the Trobriand Islanders of Melanesia. This contrast of the family patterns of a pre-literate people with that of a modern industrial culture, furnishes the student a splendid and enlightening comparison.

Chapter II bears the title "Basic Definitions: Cultural and Subcultural." In this chapter such terms as "configuration," "conditioning," "behavior," "behavior patterns," "social interaction," "ideologies," and the like are discussed in clarifying manner. Professor Folsom makes timely use of many terms which are not new in the terminology of sociology, but are relatively new in extensive usage in sociology.

Without a doubt, Chapter III of Professor Folsom's book will receive considerable criticism and the book is likely to lose a few adoptions because of the content of this chapter. In it, Professor Folsom discusses "The Nature and Kinds of Love." This is timely and appropriate but in those schools and localities where the discussion of such topics is tabooed by administrative officers and "the good public," some professors will be hesitant in the adoption of the book. Only intelligent discussions of these subjects, like that of Professor Folsom's, will eliminate taboos against frank treatment of these universally and basically important phenomena. In this respect, Professor Fol-

som is to be commended for producing a scientific and intellectually honest treatise rather than a book to suit everyone, including weak-kneed sentimentalists. *The Family—Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry* is indeed a contribution of worth.

WILLIAM E. COLE.

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MOBILIZING FOR CHAOS. By O. W. Riegel. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. 231 pp. \$2.50.

Critical analysis of the part communication agencies play in our society is one of the most neglected fields in the social sciences; but this little volume does its bit toward remedying that situation.

The author, a former newspaperman and now a teacher of journalism at Washington and Lee University, sets himself the task of exposing the control of news by nationalistic interest. An analysis of the control exerted over the techniques of news communication is followed by a discussion of "coloring" and "slanting" news for nationalistic purposes; and the reader is left with the idea that a good sized salt-shaker should accompany each copy of his favorite newspaper. And he supplies ample facts and arguments to back up his contention that, in other countries at least, the wells of information are polluted or clarified, opened or closed, in accordance with set policies of rulers or forces behind rulers. Sometimes this is done blatantly and without denial of the fact, sometimes more subtly through subsidies of apparently independent organizations. Nor, as he demonstrates, is the press of the United States free of such influence. Even the League of Nations is keenly aware of the value of a "good press" and is organized to obtain favorable treatment.

Beyond its primary purpose of exposing the machinations by which international

opinion is formed as its manufacturers would like it formed, the book is used as the text for a sermon against nationalism. But perhaps its most startling contribution to social science is the manner in which it shows the fallacy of the idea that with increased communication must come better, and more sympathetic, understanding among peoples and nations. In spite of his emphasis on the propagandistic side of news the fact lies clearly revealed that communication may lead to antagonism as well as to coöperation.

The journalistic training of the writer shows through what is evidently an attempt at a sincerely scholarly work; in his choice of title and in such chapter headings as "Definitions: Nationalism Rampant," "Nervous System and Psychosis," "Radio Armaments," and his "Conclusion: Toward a New Dark Ages?"; a question he answers in the affirmative unless something is done soon to change the trend. In spite of such journalistic use of terms, the book is not always easy reading; and it is perhaps unfortunate that the cover should be of bright yellow.

HARRY E. MOORE.

University of North Carolina.

HUMAN SEX ANATOMY. By Robert Latou Dickinson. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1933. 145 pp. \$10.00.

Human Sex Anatomy is the fifth in a series of twelve volumes on The Medical Aspects of Human Fertility, projected some years ago by the National Committee on Maternal Health, of which Dr. Dickinson is chairman. Those familiar with preceding volumes need only be told

that this one fully maintains the unique quality and high merit of its predecessors. In fact, this appears to be the most original and daring of the series. It represents a vast amount of painstaking research in a field where it is extremely difficult to replace estimates and opinions with accurate measurements. It contains text of 119 pages, bibliography of 14 pages, and 175 plates, nearly all of which present a considerable number of beautifully executed drawings.

No doubt this volume will find its greatest usefulness and warmest appreciation among gynecologists. It is certainly far beyond the critical powers of a mere layman. It seems clear, however, that the volume presents the first extensive collection of data on the sex anatomy of male and female, with detailed attention to each individual organ, covering size, forms, circulation, nerves, action in excitation, effects of habit and use and abnormalities, together with methods of measurement and investigation and a statement of matters regarding which information is abundant, scanty or lacking. It is a work that certainly will not soon be superseded. Its author has united many years of meticulous research with such skillful draftsmanship as to make the atlas the combined product of scientific acumen and artistic skill at their best. One of the most extraordinary results follows: so keen has been the search for accurate knowledge and so absorbing and instructive the presentation that pornographic suggestion has been eliminated.

FRANK H. HANKINS.

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SEVEN AGAINST CRIME

LEE M. BROOKS

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REFORMATORIES FOR WOMEN IN THE UNITED STATES. By Eugenia C. Lekkerkerker. Groningen—The Hague—Batavia: J. B. Wolters, 1931. 614 pp. \$5.00.

PRIVATE POLICE. By J. P. Shalloo. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1933. 224 pp. \$2.50.

A DOCTOR STUDIES CRIME. By Perry M. Lichtenstein, M.D., LL.B. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1934. 263 pp. \$3.00.

TWENTIETH CENTURY CRIME, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY METHODS OF CONTROL. By James Edward Haggerty. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1934. 222 pp. \$2.00.

PRINCIPLES OF CRIMINOLOGY. By Edwin H. Sutherland. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1934. 611 pp. \$3.50.

CRIMINOLOGY. By Albert Morris. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1934. 590 pp. \$3.50.

REPORT OF THE LEGISLATIVE COMMISSION ON JAILS, WITH A SPECIAL STUDY ON THE JAIL POPULATION OF CONNECTICUT. By Jerome Davis and others. State of Connecticut: Publication approved by the Board of Finance and Control, December 3, 1934. 119 pp.

A more disparate group of contributions on a desperate problem could not easily be assembled under one heading. Hence are presented chronologically: Two research volumes, one on the woman offender and one on the little known activities of private police; two little books meant for the layman; two comprehensive texts for students; and finally, an analysis of Connecticut's plan to correct its jail system,—all seven books pressing toward the ultimate substitution of social order for our present criminal chaos.

I

In Miss Lekkerkerker's book, appearing just one hundred years after the mission of de Tocqueville to examine our penitentiary system, we have one more evidence

of the value of seeing ourselves through friendly foreign eyes. This doctoral dissertation was made possible through the Netherland-America Foundation and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Fund. While it does not uncover many new facts for the American student of delinquency, it does emphasize objectively all of the reforms which we natives have been pointing out for years. To use Dr. Lekkerkerker's words: "In no other country than the United States do we find such a varied exhibition of the most divergent penal methods ranging from very archaic ones which were abolished in our country centuries ago to the most daring modern experiments, from crude and sometimes cruel provisions to the latest applications of science." The great value of her work is its drawing together of a vast amount of material about our reformatories for women. She has covered the field comprehensively.

As to method, she utilized all available literature and observed at first hand a representative number of the institutions. For four months she lived in the Massachusetts Reformatory and for two months in a New York City institution, with shorter visits to others throughout the country.

Her conclusion is that our reformatories for women are the most progressive penal institutions we possess, and that they more nearly fit the needs of women than perhaps any other type of reformatory institution in the world. She regrets, however, the concentration in one reformatory of all women delinquents, whatever the offense, and suggests the desirability of more specialization of treatment. This, it is

realized, would mean separating the larger delinquent group into units too small to be administered economically by the individual state. In this connection it is to be wished that she had made bold to urge regional reformatories supported jointly by the states, each institution to specialize on certain types of offenders. Inter-state institutions for the conservation of human resources regardless of state boundaries would seem to be as important as conservation of soil resources about which some of the states are now co-operating so earnestly.

While he feels that private police are at the present time practically indispensable Dr. Shalloo looks upon them as a contradiction in terms, a sort of legal dual personality. "They are public police officers and employees of private industrial enterprise." His book, packed with interesting information, is an exploration into a field hitherto little known. Most of us are unaware of the extensive systems and intensive observation practised constantly upon those who serve us in the mines and on the railroads, in the stores and places of amusement.

The present organization of coal and iron police is unsatisfactory; legislative attempts to eliminate abuses have been largely futile; operators and unions, both afraid of objective study and fact, have been *particeps criminis* in the total problem. They believe that strikes are private fights and that those not immediately involved should mind their own business. As for the railroads the picture is brighter. They are now careful in their selection of police, a far cry from the old-time "cinder dick." In a credit-seeking world the following quotation is significant in connection with the relations of railroad to public police: "... railroad police willingly turn over offenders to city police, thus allowing the latter to get credit for arrests." The most

prominent conclusion concerning private detectives is that they should either be abolished or placed under the control of the proper department of the State. By doing this the "collusive agencies and double-crossing union busters would disappear" and the constructive agencies continuing in business "would be given the respect and support they deserve."

Not only is this volume of use in its special field but it also contains much of value in the analysis and description of industrial communities.

II

When a legally trained physician serves eighteen years on a prison staff he ought to speak with authority. This, Dr. Lichtenstein has done interestingly in a book which cannot be wholly recommended. While it contains much that coincides with scientific thought on the prevention and control of crime, it is out of step and inconsistent at several points. Why is there a chapter on "Moral Defect"? If such troublesome individuals as sadists and masochists are mentally ill, as he admits, why are they discussed in this chapter instead of under mental defect or under psychopathic inferiority? Where does moral accountability end and mental responsibility begin? Most of us, he affirms, have an "inherent moral sense that teaches us what is right and what is wrong." Dr. Lichtenstein's thoughts on social control are interesting. He does not believe in sterilization, yet he urges that neither moral defectives nor psychopathic persons be permitted to marry. On the other hand, throughout his book he blames Prohibition for racial woes, present and future. He specifically recommends in connection with narcotics "that poppy growing by private citizens be prohibited." Further, he would censor all plays, movies, books, and magazines in

order that society may be protected against the moral defective; and he would reform present-day dances. Thus, he is not averse to the *idea* of prohibition; only the eighteenth amendment was all wrong.

The book is guilty of loose use of terms; the more serious because it is intended for average readers, especially for parents and teachers. Biologists can guess at his real meaning when he states that "dipsomania is at times hereditary in origin," but the casual reader may thus be led to worry unduly about dipsomaniacal predetermination. It is in connection with such points as these that one is reminded of Judge Marcus Kavanagh's reference to morons in *The Criminal and His Allies*. Doctors and Judges are heard with such confidence in the community that theirs is a heavy responsibility not to mislead the citizens.

Despite its interest and its many good points such as specific suggestions for the creation of new institutions and the improvement of existing ones, and in spite of the soundness of his views on treatment of the criminal, on probation, and on the need for study and early detection of asocial tendencies, the book is of little value to professional readers and of very doubtful value for others, especially for parents and teachers who need to have scientific theory and fact—sociological morality as well as theological morality—set before them in terms precise and clear. For aiming to be helpful, Dr. Lichtenstein deserves credit.

Professor Hagerty has written a vigorous little volume by which the layman can sense the shabbiness of our old philosophies and the groaning of our antiquated legal and penal machinery. At this writing a kidnap trial, illustrating many of the author's points, is being staged in New Jersey. In crisp, short chapters he examines the contradictory debate, expert testimony, trial by jury, (the grand jury was abolished in England on August

31, 1934, since this book's publication,—a hopeful sign for us), the police, the third degree, the great criminal lawyer, etc. Too many of our police and lawyers are seen as entangled in tradition and political corruption, and in a relentless quest for self, for pelf, and for power. The eleventh chapter offers a few remedies among which is the displacement of the jury system by three attorneys who would be appointed as judges by the Supreme Court of the state. "Certainly the judgment of three men trained in the law will be far superior to that of twelve jurors."

In the second section on what shall be done with criminals, prevention is the keynote. Probation and parole,—neither of which has been adequately tried and tested,—the juvenile court, the church, the school, the visiting teacher, and other community agencies and talents must be put to work. Workers must be trained in psychology and sociology. If criminals are made in childhood (page 217) then parents, ministers, teachers, social workers, and citizens can—if they will study and observe—eventually give the police, the courts, and the prisons less adult wreckage to mishandle.

Part III contains familiar old criminological theories and closes with a discussion of the new penology which asks that the various circumstances contributing to delinquency shall receive more attention than the average community has yet been disposed to give. The new penology holds that: "There is no greater inequality than the equal treatment of unequals." For the individual and the group, a well supported, politically untrammelled probation system will help toward order and control in a world of tragic disorder.

III

Professor Sutherland revises his fine work of 1924, adding two new chapters, reorganizing old material, and incorpo-

rating new research results. Those who have used his earlier book with such satisfaction will find this later one even better and especially suited to upper classes in college. Only one detailed criticism is here offered and that has to do with his slighting that notorious southern penal system, that regional stigma, the chain gang. Students everywhere ought to know something of its history and trends, but the author fails to mention the most authentic work (he does list two lesser references) on the subject by Steiner and Brown, though in 1928 he wrote a five-hundred word review in which he called it the first extensive study ever made of the system, an "institution that has been important in the South. . . ." The chain gang still is important but it is slowly on its way out. Moreover, its departure in North Carolina was given no little push by university researchers. As a transplanted northerner, the reviewer feels that other sections tend to forget that the South is on the map except in sporting season. But, nevertheless, Dr. Sutherland has again given us a good book, an admirable treatment of the principles of criminology.

As one of the valued members of the Boston-Cambridge group of teachers and researchers, Professor Morris has been busy for several years preparing this lively text, interrupting the project now and then to help the forces of penal progress combat the onslaughts of hostile politicians and newspapers. He ought to be well qualified to produce a good book; his result proves his fitness. He has not only covered the field but has done it in a manner to appeal to the average college student, whose interest will be sustained by the careful organization and brisk presentation of subject matter. At the end of the volume sixty-five pages are devoted to research suggestions, exercises,

topics for discussion, subjects for reports, and bibliography. The index, however, does not quite match the high quality of the book proper. Professor Morris has, if we judge his effort rightly, succeeded well in his aim to furnish a usable and suggestive interpretation of the work already done in the general field of criminology.

IV

The Connecticut Legislature of 1933, profiting by the experience of a dozen other states and convinced that no further expansion of the county jail system should be tolerated, authorized a Commission to arrange for a Central State Jail Farm in the interests of economy, efficiency, and better treatment of offenders. This Commission has recommended a five-hundred acre tract centrally located to be named the *Glastonbury Farm Community* to accommodate five or six hundred persons, chiefly recidivists. Such an institution is not designed to "break up the present organization" of county jails as places of temporary detention. The conclusions of the study of the jail population (636 men and 39 women during the winter of 1933-1934) are the basis for advising the farm plan. These findings coincide with other recent state-wide studies notably that of Massachusetts (1924-1928, unpublished) and that of *The Jails of Virginia* (1929-1930, published in 1933) by Hoffer, Mann, and House. Among the more gripping facts are these: One-fourth of those in jail should have permanent custodial care; one-fifth need treatment for mental and personality deviations; and one-tenth need medical attention to a marked degree. These and other conclusions, tabulated and recorded in detail, reveal the unfitness of jails as places of treatment and discipline. Centralized state control is increasingly necessary today as a matter of

dollars and sense,—politician, "practical man," and taxpaying citizen, take notice! For "theorists" and other students, this report has some interesting case material and specimen forms valuable in teaching and study.

THE PRESIDENTIAL VOTE, 1896-1932. By Edgar Eugene Robinson. Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1934. 404 pp. \$6.00.

This book is primarily a source book. A table of votes cast by counties for the Democratic, Republican, and other party candidates for president in the elections from 1896-1932 comprises over half of the volume. The service Mr. Robinson has rendered the student interested in studies similar to those of Ogburn and Talbot in *Social Forces*, volume 8, Willey and Rice in the *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, volume 19, and Titus in volumes 8 and 9 of the *Southwestern Political Science Quarterly*, can hardly be estimated. The note on the sources from which the data were compiled illustrates how difficult it has been to obtain accurate and complete figures on elections for geographic units small enough to permit statistical analysis. This note also gives the changes in county boundaries and the names of the third parties receiving votes in each state. This is the first good record of third party appellations that have appeared on state ballots for presidential electors.

In addition to presenting source material the author has attempted an analysis of the distribution of party control. He presents a map for each election indicating the party having a plurality in each county. Lest one be led astray by the simplicity of these striking pictures of party behavior the author hastens to emphasize that "there is a great national minority behind the maps in every election in this period" and that "except for approximately 800 counties, most of them in

twelve states of the South, there is as a rule a sizeable minority vote in every county in every election." He points out that these maps, although in many respects similar to the ones in Paullin's, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, are different in that they take into account all the vote other than Democratic and Republican which apparently is not the case in the atlas. A tabular analysis of party pluralities enables one to trace the political changes of individual counties with considerable ease.

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CHILDREN OF PRESCHOOL AGE: STUDIES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS, SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT AND MENTAL ABILITY, WITH ILLUSTRATIVE CASES. By Ethel Kavin. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. 340 pp. \$3.50.

This is a worthy addition to the admirable Behavior Research Fund Publications. The author emphasizes the fact that a service program seldom meets the requirements for sound research. It is evident that intensive study of infant and child behavior offers rich opportunities for developing a body of scientific knowledge of great practical value and fundamental significance for the natural science of sociology. It is a sad commentary on the alleged rational nature of man that he is willing to spend large sums to care for maladjusted children who often become costly maladjusted adults who produce a new crop of maladjusted children, but he is unwilling to spend much for scientific study of the problems involved. To date, most of the admittedly inadequate and scientifically suspect "knowledge" we have concerning both the biological and cultural behavior of infants and children has been obtained as a by-product of service programs, i.e., from sketchy, rule-of-thumb treatment of abnormal children.

We shall scarcely find sound solutions to many of our most pressing problems until we shall have studied large numbers of both "normal" and "abnormal" children over long periods of time under conditions specifically designed for research. The author wisely remarks, "... most of our principles are still hypotheses which we hope may some day be proved or disproved by scientific method. Until science gives us definite answers, it is exceedingly important that we should not abandon critical common sense and reasonable traditions for uncharted seas and new dogma."

Part I deals with the service program and concludes with seven summaries of typical cases. This is valuable reading for parents, teachers, general readers and beginning students.

Part II is a detailed report of three research projects based upon a study of 635 children. About 500 of these came to the Department from five nursery schools and the Infant Welfare Society of Chicago. It is thought this constitutes a fairly representative sample of preschool population except that the extremes of the Sims' Occupational Scale are over-represented and most of the children are problem cases. The control group of supposedly "normal" children is small and doubtful. Frequently the data are doubtful and incomplete, but these discrepancies are always carefully noted.

The first study undertook to compare the intelligence of children who came from "high" and "low" socio-economic homes; the second, to study the social adjustment of children in relation to nineteen selected factors such as age, sex, intelligence, physical condition, sibling position and relation, age, education, nationality and occupation of parents, father-child relation, marital status and

relation of parents, etc.; the third, analysis of Stanford-Binet and Merrill-Palmer Test-Results for children of preschool age.

The author has given a complete and illuminating criticism of the tests themselves and the results obtained. The literature bearing on the three projects is reviewed and cited. One wonders how Chapin's work on socio-economic status was overlooked and why Stern's and Piaget's work on preschool children is not referred to.

Space prohibits any discussion of the findings. Study I seems to confirm the generally accepted view of a positive relation between "intelligence" and socioeconomic status; however, this was less on Merrill-Palmer than Stanford-Binet tests, and lessened still more when the verbal parts of M-P were omitted; low socioeconomic children exceeded high socioeconomic children in some motor tests; overlapping was pronounced. Study II showed there are no single causes of social unadjustment to other children, but there appears to be "constellations" of causes; the "eldest" appears in the unadjusted group more frequently than the "only;" the "low IQ's" more frequently than the "high," but this may be due to their lack of adjustment to the test situation rather than to lack of intelligence; bad father-child relations and unhappy marital relations are positively related to social unadjustment. Study III shows the S-B test to have higher reliability than the M-P test, but also consistently produces a M. A. higher than C. A., while the M-P test gives a closer approximation of the two.

The general conclusion is that such research as has been done on all of these three problems has raised more questions than it has answered.

READ BAIN.

Miami University.

BOOK NOTES

READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT.

By S. Howard Patterson. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1932. 745 pp.

This book was prepared for use as a text or supplementary text in courses dealing with the history of economic theory. Some instructors will find it useful for this purpose. At all events it will serve to acquaint students with the great variety of opinions which the so-called science of economics has harbored. It will not aid those who find "development" in economic thought.

To students of society the book is useful in another way as a reminder of the amount of social reflection that has been done by persons who were not professed sociologists. Courses in the history of social thought have tended to concentrate either upon the rise of "sociology" or upon the general trends of moral and social philosophy. But specialists in many disciplines have often consciously formulated their contributions within the framework of a general conception of society. Dr. Patterson's volume of readings is notable for the attention which it gives to economists whose modes of thinking have a distinctly social flavor. At least three-fifths of the space is devoted to men ranging from Bernard de Mandeville to Simon N. Patten, whose penchant it is to view economic situations in terms of a wider perspective, historical, cultural, or normative. This has been accomplished without bringing in any of the contemporary institutional economists in the United States, or the "verstehende" economics of Sombart and Max Weber. Most of this material is relevant to what may be called the social philosophy of economic life. Some of it, like Professor Ingram's address in 1878 on "The Present Position and Prospects of Political Economy" would be re-

garded as a timely contribution to current methodological controversies in the social science field.

L. H. J.

CREDIT POLICIES OF THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM. By Charles O. Hardy. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1932. 372 pp.

This excellent discussion of the credit policies of the Federal Reserve System is another contribution of the Brookings Institution. During recent years, the public has become increasingly indebted to this institution for its practice of making and publishing disinterested studies designed particularly to shed light upon controversial topics of deep social and public interest.

The purpose of this study is well stated by the Director when he says:

It is hoped that this analysis of post-war credit policies may contribute to a fairer appraisal of the services of the Reserve system as well as of the limitations within which it must necessarily function.

The author early states that, "So complete has the centralization of credit policy become that we are quite justified in treating Reserve system administration as a case of central banking." He then presents in Part One, the technique of credit control and a brief review of banking and business from 1922 through 1931, and in Parts Two and Three discusses, what he terms, major and minor standards of credit policy. Major standards include: (1) Stabilization of the money market; (2) Maintenance of "sound" credit conditions; (3) International coöperation; (4) Stock market control; (5) Gold supply, and (6) Stabilization of prices. The minor standards of credit control discussed are: (1) Liquidity of commercial bank assets; (2) United States Treasury operations; and (3) Regional uniformity of discount rates.

The only weak point of the study is found in the two concluding chapters in which the reader is not afforded the effective summarization and evaluation of which the author is capable. While this detracts somewhat, it by no means does away with the fact that the study as a whole well serves the very fine purpose as set forth at the beginning of this review.

C. J. B.

LABOR AND STEEL. By Horace B. Davis. New York: International Publishers, 1933. 304 pp. \$2.00.

This book, the sixth in a series of studies of American industries sponsored by the Labor Research Association, is written avowedly from "the worker's viewpoint," which is rather prematurely assumed to be that of the Communist Party. The steel worker's case against his employers would appear no less strong if put with more accuracy and calm.

J. N. B.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR. By Lewis L. Lorwin, with the assistance of Jean Atherton Flexner. Washington, D. C.: The Brookings Institution, 1933. 573 pp. \$2.75.

This study supplies a need that has become increasingly acute in Labor Economics. Biographies of outstanding personalities in the labor movement have been published. Histories of individual trade unions have been issued. Certain activities and policies of the American Federation of Labor have been critically analyzed. But no detailed and thorough investigation of the historical evolution, policies, and prospects of this latter organization has previously appeared. This gap, Dr. Lorwin has excellently filled with a scholarly, searching treatise.

For purposes of presentation the following logical divisions are made: Part I. Foundations, 1864-98; Part II. National Expansion, 1899-1914; Part III. World War

and Industrial Democracy, 1914-24; Part IV. Prosperity and Depression, 1925-33; and Part V. Policies, Problems, and Prospects.

To the layman this volume will prove valuable as a means of securing clear insight into the history of the Federation. To the specialist in labor problems, it will be a convenient handbook for reference and a source of material for fruitful discussion as to the future policies the organization should adopt.

R. H.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY IN NORTH CAROLINA, 1789-1816. By Delbert Harold Gilpatrick. New York: Columbia University Press, 1931. 257 pp. \$4.25.

This book is one of five research projects, dealing with the political history of North Carolina from the beginning of statehood to the close of the antebellum period, which have been inspired by the History Department of the University of North Carolina. Based upon contemporary documents, including newspapers and the correspondence, diaries, and campaign documents of the political leaders of the time, Gilpatrick's *Jeffersonian Democracy in North Carolina* admirably supplements Professor Wagstaff's *Federalism in North Carolina* which appeared more than twenty years ago. These two volumes, when read with Mrs. Louise Irby Trenholme's *The Ratification of the Federal Constitution in North Carolina*, Hamilton's *Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, and Norton's *The Democratic Party in North Carolina, 1835-1860*, give a complete picture of political life in the State except for the neglected history of the Whig party.

With slight mention of the social and economic background, Mr. Gilpatrick confines himself to tracing carefully the political activities of Jeffersonian Democrats in North Carolina. His interest,

like that of the foregoing authors, is chiefly politics. He finds that North Carolina accepted the new government under the Constitution reluctantly and as a matter of necessity. Indeed, from 1789 to the end of the Federalist party in 1816, North Carolina was more often on the side of Jefferson than of Hamilton. Mr. Gilpatrick's explanation for this political alignment is "geography, which so frequently shapes the course of history." While he is conscious of the economic conditions which the geography of the State produced, he completely ignores all social phenomena which might have entered into the situation. For instance, a study of the religious history of the State indicates that the most popular religious sects in North Carolina had definite "Jeffersonian principles" long before the Revolution.

G. G. J.

DAS HOCHMITTELALTER: GESCHICHTE DES ABENDLANDES VON 900-1250. By Karl Hampe. Berlin: Propyläen, 1932. 346 pp. Linen, RM. 15.

Hampe's book is a careful study of a period in what we commonly call the Middle Ages that is of the greatest sociological importance. It shows clearly that the current contrast between medieval and modern is fit only to set themes for college debates; most of what we call progress can be definitely traced to medieval antecedents. The book has its shortcomings, to be sure. For instance, it retains the method of organizing material by reference to political events, and hence its usefulness to sociologists is much less than if major cycles in social dynamics had furnished the guiding lines. Nevertheless, it is worthy of the closest study by anyone who deals with general sociological principles as they apply to historical development.

In format this product of the German

book-maker's art is exemplary, the paper is of excellent quality and, most important of all, there is a high-grade index.

H. B.

OUTPOST OF EMPIRE: THE STORY OF THE FOUNDING OF SAN FRANCISCO. By Herbert Eugene Bolton. New York: Knopf, 1931. Maps and half-tones. 334 pp. \$5.00.

Outpost of Empire is another important contribution which Professor Bolton has made to the study of the Spanish borderlands. It should be read in connection with his voluminous earlier work, *Anza's California Expedition*, for *Outpost of Empire* deals with only one brief episode of Juan Bautista de Anza's colorful life. Anza has no parallel in United States history. He was both explorer and colony leader. Lewis and Clark in 1804-06 made their famous journey from St. Louis over the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean. Had they followed up this expedition by leading a colony to the western coast, they would have performed a task similar to that which Anza had accomplished thirty years earlier. This study of the founding of San Francisco is another of Professor Bolton's brilliant refutations of the fallacy that the Spaniards did not colonize but merely explored.

G. G. J.

THE MIND OF CHINA. By Edwin D. Harvey. New Haven: Yale University-Press, 1933. 321 pp. \$3.50.

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COMMUNITY. By Wen Kwei Liao. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1933. 314 pp.

These two books afford an interesting contrast. *The Mind of China* runs along standard Sumner-Keller lines. Major emphasis is laid on ghost fear, daimonology, those folkways and mores strongly infused with magic, exorcism, and so on. Little attention is paid to Chinese social thought; Confucius, Hsun-Tzū, Wang

Yang Ming, and the other stars in the Chinese intellectual firmament are not in the focus of Harvey's lens. The result is a notable lack of balance in a book that bears so all-inclusive a title. If it had been called "The Superstitions of China" or "Folk Beliefs of China" no exception could be taken on that score. Unfortunately, other faults abound. We have had enough and too much of the scissors-and-paste-pot method of assembling illustrations in support of particular doctrines. One searches in vain for any evidence that the writer has ever managed to see things Chinese in any other way than that of the confirmed Westerner.

Liao's book is a first-rate instance of another tendency: the excessive Westernization of certain Chinese intellectuals. He opens his treatise by posing familiar Western problems of individual vs. community, and by arraying all the orthodox worthies, from Plato to Spencer, on the ethical battlefield. In the latter half of the book he deals with the means of social control propounded by ancient and modern Chinese thinkers, but never views them except through the spectacles clamped upon him by his Western education. The problems are virtually the same as those governing the organization of the first half, and as a consequence any real insight into Chinese ways of thought and life goes glimmering.

H. B.

THESE AGITATORS AND THEIR IDEA. By Harry M. Chalfant. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1931. 363 pp. \$2.00.

This book is one of several on prohibition published recently by the Cokesbury Press, all written from the point of view that "it now rests with the Church to launch a nation-wide intelligence campaign" in behalf of prohibition. Mr. Chalfant discusses briefly the work of

fifteen temperance leaders from Dr. Benjamin Rush of Revolutionary fame to Pussyfoot Johnson of recent times.

G. G. J.

NEW DISCOVERIES RELATING TO THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN. By Sir Arthur Keith. New York: Norton, n.d. 512 pp. 186 illustrations. \$5.00.

This work supplements Sir Arthur Keith's earlier *The Antiquity of Man*, first published in 1915 and revised in 1925 and 1929. In addition to summarizing Keith's ideas on the evolution of man, it contains detailed discussions of the latest discoveries—the Taungs skull, the Peking Man, *homo gardarensis*, etc. The style is non-technical. The work is profusely illustrated.

G. B. J.

NOTES ON EGYPTIAN MARRIAGE CHIEFLY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. By William F. Edgerton. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931. 25 pp. \$1.00.

In these brief but thoroughly documented notes, Dr. Edgerton clarifies two points concerning marriage under native Egyptian law, which are much disputed among Egyptologists. Marriage, he holds, was a private, non-official contract which continued during mutual consent and which could be limited in advance to a definite period or could be dissolved at will without penalty. Furthermore, Dr. Edgerton presents evidence denying the existence of two forms, "full marriage" and "loose marriage," prior to the Roman period.

G. M.

MERCHANT VENTURERS IN BRONZE. By Harold Peake and Herbert John-Fleure. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. 168 pp. Illustrated. \$2.00.

This little book is the seventh in Peake's and Fleure's noteworthy Corridors of Time Series. It describes simply and

briefly the cultural developments in Europe and the Near East during the Bronze Age. The illustrations, of which there are 67, are excellent.

G. B. J.

WORLD SOCIAL ECONOMIC PLANNING. Edited by M. L. Fledderus. The Hague: International Industrial Relations Institute (New York, 130 E. 22nd Street), 1932. 935 pp. in two volumes. \$2.50.

This material was contributed to the World Social Economic Congress in Amsterdam in August 1931. The papers and discussions are printed in English, French, and German. Between pages 5 and 69 an analysis and review of the Congress is contributed by Mary Van Kleeck, its program chairman. Planning in its various aspects, as it affects the employer and the worker, is the theme. Among the speakers were Lazard, Neurath, Person, Haan, Lorwin, Obolensky-Ossinsky, Palyi, Filene, Chamberlain, Naphtali, and Briefs. "Those invited from Latin America were unable to come. None came from Japan and too few from India and China."

"National planning was more clearly envisaged than world planning which hovered like a will-o'-the-wisp before the Congress, eluding concrete expression. . . . The significance of the . . . Congress consists not in conclusions nor in final answers to problems, but in its stimulus toward research and experiment to be conducted in areas limited enough to yield results, and guided by a new awareness of historical trends toward world unity."

L. M. B.

SOCIAL INSURANCE. By Percy Cohen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 278 pp. \$3.50.

This volume covers thoroughly the British schemes in health insurance, contributory and non-contributory pensions, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, and industrial assurance. Each

chapter begins with a clear historical account followed by an outline of the plan or system under discussion. Illustrative detail relieves what would otherwise be formidably dry reading. The work is objective, descriptive, and analytic as becomes a handbook. The author is "certain that none of the various systems has reached a position of finality." Mrs. Armstrong's book is more comprehensive and interpretative; this one deals only with the British system of social insurance.

L. M. B.

SWEEPING THE COBWEEBS. By Lillian J. Martin and Clare de Gruchy. New York: Macmillan, 1933. 181 pp. \$1.50.

This little book is based on the experience of the authors,—one of whom is eighty years old,—who conduct a clinic known as the Old Age Center where, by clinical procedures and the use of standard tests, they aim to determine the extent of deterioration in their consultants. Then begins the program of rehabilitation with efforts at the realignment of emotions, powers of observation, social attitudes, and memory. Mental débris and worries must be swept away before the chambers of the mind can be refurnished with new and usable ideas. The book is of value to the employment manager and social worker. It is a readable work in a field too little explored by psychology and sociology.

L. M. B.

MENTAL HYGIENE IN THE COMMUNITY. By Clara Bassett. New York: Macmillan, 1934. 394 pp. \$3.50.

This volume by the consultant in psychiatric social work, division on community clinics of The National Committee for Mental Hygiene, is an excellent source book of material on the implications of

mental hygiene for medicine, nursing, social service, correctional work, parent education, work for the pre-school child, education and teacher training, the church and theological training, industry, recreational activities and psychiatric institutions. It is intended to aid individuals, agencies, and communities interested in organizing and improving facilities for the study and treatment of mental disorders or in developing a broad program for the promotion of mental health. It indicates the various ways in which mental hygiene is of value in the fields spoken of. Available data have been brought together in systematic and readable form. No effort was made to produce new material or to criticize accepted practice.

As a survey of present knowledge and trends in various fields the book is a valuable addition to the library of every one who deals with problems of adjustment of humans to each other. It is the only text which comprehends between two covers the outstanding features of mental hygiene as it has affected one or another community agency in the last 25 years.

L. E. B.

SCHIZOPHRENIA. By Helge Lundholm, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1932. 117 pp. \$1.00.

This monograph follows an earlier work of similar scope on the manic-depressive psychosis. In *Schizophrenia* the author is frankly a disciple of Kraepelin. He emphasizes the diagnostic values of the patient's pre-psychotic history, the onset history of the disorder, and the clinical disease picture. Some of the younger psychiatrists may raise their eyebrows and ask "by what right" does a psychologist (even one with many years of experience at McLean Hospital) enter the premises supposedly open only to the M.D. In a field where groping, guessing, and con-

tradiction are more prominent than precision in diagnosis and therapeutics, why not welcome such painstaking work as Dr. Lundholm has been doing?

L. M. B.

AFTER COLLEGE—WHAT? Edited by Chase Going Woodhouse. Greensboro, N. C.: Institute of Women's Professional Relations, 1932. 200 pp. (Bulletin No. 4.)

In view of the enormous influx of women into American colleges during the past generation, there must be a wide-spread interest in what women do after leaving college. We have many studies of how many of them marry and how many children they have or don't have, but we have had few extensive studies of the earnings and vocational distribution of college women. The above publication gives the results of questionnaires sent out by the United States Office of Education with the coöperation of 42 land-grant colleges. Usable returns were secured from about 6500 women, most of them graduates of these colleges. The analyses are presented in two parts. In Part I prepared by Mrs. Woodhouse and Ruth Y. Schiffman are studies of "Occupations, Earnings, Families and Some Undergraduate Problems;" Part II bears the sub-title, "Staying on the Job. A study of Vocational Continuity of College Women." Frequent comparisons are made with the census and with other research materials.

One can only hint at the wealth of detail in these studies. The material is grouped into four periods of three years each between 1889 and 1922. One thus has a panorama of the entry of college women into various pursuits during over thirty years, of their earnings, marriages and families. We learn that higher degrees pay well in cold cash; and that children are not such handicaps as had been supposed. We learn something of why

students leave college and how they earn their way through. Also, how often they shift jobs; whether it pays to shift or not; what lines pay best and when it is wise to choose a vocation; and so on through a long list. This bulletin, which is one of a series, should be of special value to persons interested in the vocational guidance of college women.

F. H. H.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE THEORY AND PRACTISE OF PARENTS ASSOCIATIONS. By Maria Lambin Rogers. New York: The United Parents Associations, 1932. 83 pp. Paper.

The only analytical account of a serious effort to carry out a considered policy over a number of years in the parents associations of a city is this booklet of Mrs. Rogers. It describes the attempt from 1925 to 1930 in New York City of the United Parents Associations to convert the programs of parent-teachers associations and mothers clubs from "haphazard civic welfare work to parent education." Scientific knowledge was to travel from the laboratory to the home through the avenue of parent-organizations. The well ordered pamphlet outlines broadly the social changes that have made parent organization necessary, and the early local development of the movement. It continues with a resumé of the principles and methods used in the local associations and the federation, describes the growth of the latter and indicates the probable developments of the immediate future. The objective and analytical quality of the account is a welcome change from the propagandist statements and abstract generalizations found in almost all the literature on the subject.

L. E. B.

THE AWAKENING COMMUNITY. By Mary Mims and Georgia Williams Moritz. New York: Macmillan, 1932. 273 pp. \$2.00.

The spirit of Pollyanna lives in Louisiana. Gladness, idealism, inspiration, tenacity, and miracles have attended the organization of some 300 communities where, under the banner of "eight objectives," all sorts of group projects have been accomplished. If Harvick, Rayville, and other transformed communities have been able to carry on in days like these they have done exceedingly well. The last hundred pages of the book give detailed programs successfully used in the organization of southern communities.

L. M. B.

AMERICAN POPULATION BEFORE THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1790. By Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. \$3.50.

This ably-compiled reference work is likely to become the standard source of estimates of population in the various colonies at various periods before the census of 1790. There have been two previous attempts to cover somewhat similar ground; but this study seems to include all the relevant data from the previous works by Dexter and Rossiter with much additional material culled from the official reports of governors, from militia and tax lists, genealogies, church records, etc. Many unusual sources found in the Public Record Office in London, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, and in special historical collections were used. This book is an indispensable source of information for any student of population problems who wishes to trace the growth of American population.

N. E. H.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE IN GEORGIA, 1867-1930. By Ralph Wardlaw. Phelps-Stokes Fellowship Studies, No. 11. University of Georgia, Athens, 1932. 91 pp. \$1.60. Paper.

This bulletin reports a very competent study of Negro suffrage in Georgia. The

author is fairminded, points out the unfairness of the present Georgia laws, and frankly says that the state needs a constitutional convention which would rewrite the article on elective franchise and repeal or amend the laws regulating the qualification and registration of voters.

G. B. J.

THE FORGOTTEN TENTH. New York: The National Urban League, May, 1933. 63 pp. \$35.

This bulletin, prepared under the direction of Ira De A. Reid and T. Arnold Hill, represents the results of a very interesting survey of unemployment, relief administration, and the depression in general, as related to the Negro.

G. B. J.

PRINCESS MALAH. By John H. Hill. Washington, D. C.: Associated Publishers, 1933. 330 pp. \$2.15.

This semi-historical novel, by one who was born a slave, attempts "to depict the relationship existing between the master and slave in the periods of our history just prior to the Revolutionary War," and also to portray General Washington's "high personal nobility in dealing with those less fortunate than himself." The central character, Malah, is supposed to be the daughter of Washington's brother Lawrence by a woman of Indian and Negro blood. The story is fanciful, the style stilted and dull.

G. B. J.

SOCIAL PROGRESS AND CHRISTIAN IDEALS. By James Meyers, Alva W. Taylor, William P. King, and Howard E. Jensen, Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1931. 360 p. \$2.25.

The title of this book might well be, "An Appraisal of Cultural Trends in Western Civilization, in the Light of Christian Ethics," or "Source Materials for Sermons on Christian Social Ethics." It is written

by four authors and is naturally spotted. One author carefully documents his manuscript, two others partially document theirs, and the other lets his stand as a body of personal opinion, interspersed with quotations from sources not cited. The presentation varies from the commonplace to the brilliant and the materials, from opinion to statistical information and critical logic. All in all the book is one that any modern minister can ill afford to be without and many a layman—even scientist—could well afford to read.

The materials are presented in sixteen chapters, some of which are short sermons, others vivid descriptions of what is happening to human life and human values under the impact of the machine process and the domination of material things, the final ones constituting as brilliant a polemic in behalf of volitionally and socially determined progress as has ever been written.

The selected bibliography, given at the end of the volume, contains a list of about one hundred books the reading of which would greatly enlighten the average reader and might well serve as the beginning of a modern library for any minister.

C. C. T.

THE EVOLUTION OF CULTURE. By Julius Lippert. Translated and edited by George P. Murdock. New York: Macmillan, 1931. 716 pp.

Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit in ihrem organischen Aufbau (2 vols. Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart, 1886-1887) is Lippert's *magnum opus* which has now been translated into English for the first time by Dr. George P. Murdock, Assistant Professor of the Science of Society at Yale University, under the title *The Evolution of Culture*. The translator has been very successful avoiding Lippert's ponderous and heavy style without loss of meaning. He has also traced many of Lippert's sources for

ethnographical facts which are not noted in the original, and has indicated in the footnotes collections of other cases on points not fully substantiated by Lippert.

The entire German original has not been translated, for, as Dr. Murdock states, some portions are out of date while certain subjects have already been adequately treated in English by other authorities. The translation, therefore, consists of a critical selection of those parts of Lippert's work which are thought to have the most value to the English-speaking public, and which contain the elements of Lippert's sociological theory. Thus most of the chapters dealing with material culture have been omitted with the exception of those on the taming of fire, the evolution of tools and weapons, and the use of condiments, narcotics and intoxicants. Special attention is given to Lippert's basic theory of foresight, which is skillfully treated in the chapter on the care for life as a cultural principle. The chapters on the primitive family, the mother-right and the father-right have been translated in full, together with part of the material on the patriarchal family. Other important sections which have been covered in the translation include the cult and religious ideas, the cult in relation to social organization and fetishism in both its primary and advanced stages.

E. E. M.

LIVES IN THE MAKING. By Henry Neumann, New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1932. 370 pp.

Lives in the Making is an interesting exposition of the view that the ethical approach and the scientific approach find their common denominator in the proposition that "Nothing is worth the making if it does not make the man." The thesis of the book is summed up in its three major divisions: (1) What Home and Community Can Do; (2) Where Psychology Can

Help; and (3) What Schools Can Do. In the first division Neumann treats of social processes, institutional forms of control, and the outstanding social problems of to-day. The second division deals with mental hygiene, individual differences, and personality, while the third division presents readable summaries of what is acceptable to-day in the field of education.

On the whole the book leaves a favorable impression. It offers valuable precepts to be employed, in moments of doubt and tribulation, by parent, teacher, and social worker alike. Coming from one whose scholarship is sound, whose style is simple and lucid, and whose personality is itself the product of adequate adjustment, these precepts are worth reading and re-reading.

M. H. K.

THE STRATEGY OF CITY CHURCH PLANNING. By Ross Sanderson. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1932. 245 pp. \$2.00.

"Like environment, like church" is a rule established in general by white Protestant churches of the larger cities of America. That is, as there are good and bad areas in cities, there are good or bad churches within these areas. Economically and socially the church tends to reflect the type of city neighborhood in which it is located. Social stagnation has been effectively met, however, by super-modal churches, those churches whose destinies have been directed contrary to adverse environmental trends; on the other hand, sub-modal churches studied failed of adaptation to progressive changes in surroundings. From the survey of successes and failures in sixteen cities, a church strategy for meeting changing city environments is evolved. The book is the ninth in a series of studies or urban church affairs undertaken by the Institute during the last decade.

E. H.

RELIGION TODAY. Edited by Arthur L. Swift, Jr.
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933.
300 pp. \$2.50.

This symposium is interesting and provocative. Among the contributors are Jews, Catholics, Protestants, psychologists, sociologists. The fifteen chapters included cover such varied titles as "Religion in Primitive Societies," by Arthur L. Swift, Jr.; "Modern Superstition and Magic: The Cults," by Charles W. Ferguson; "The Dark Side of Religion," by Morris R. Cohen; "Protestantism, Capitalism and Communism," by Reinhold Niebuhr; "Catholicism and Democracy," by John A. Ryan; and "Religion and Psychical Research," by Hornell Hart.

G. B. J.

THE NEGRO'S CHURCH. By B. E. Mays and J. W. Nicholson. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933. 321 pp. \$2.00.

During and since the days of slavery, the church has allowed the Negro greater freedom and opportunity for self-expression and leadership than have been afforded in his social, economic, and civic institutions. With fewer proscriptions by

a white majority than imposed against other organized endeavors of this racial group, it is not surprising that the Negro church has developed as a medium for social and political stimulation as well as for religious fellowship.

A survey of 609 urban and 185 rural church societies provides the chief material for this study of the Negro church in the United States today. Urban church growth is closely related to recent migrations of the Negro. Church splits and schisms, and the principle of wide expansion of competing denominational bodies are responsible for the establishment of many small, struggling organizations among an over-churched group.

With the exception of teaching, more Negroes are found in the ministry than any other profession. Opportunities for untrammelled expression not found in other fields are responsible for this choice by a large number of Negroes. An advancing ministerial academic status will elevate the Negro church, still the primary channel of adult education for one-tenth of the population of America.

E. H.

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ALASKA NATIVES: A SURVEY. By H. Dewey Anderson and Walter Crosby Eells. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1935. 472 pp. \$5.00.

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OPPORTUNITIES FOR TRAINED SOCIOLOGISTS IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE

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Public Service Personnel, 302 East 35th Street, New York City, will bring a mimeographed copy of the recommendations made by the Commission as a result of its investigation.

It would be most helpful if the members of departments of sociology would have special call meetings to express opinions and voice suggestions, the gist of which would be transmitted to the chairman of the Committee on Opportunities for Trained Sociologists.

It would be helpful also if graduate students at centers of sociological study could get together in special meetings to discuss the recommendations of the Commission in view of the questions raised above, and undertake to send the summarized minutes of these meetings to Dr. Reckless.



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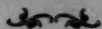
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Business communications should be addressed to The Williams & Wilkins Company, Publishers of Scientific Journals and Books, Mount Royal and Guilford Avenues, Baltimore, U. S. A.

The periodical is issued quarterly in October, December, March, May. Each number contains from 150 to 160 pages. Current Volume: Volume 13.

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